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ELISHA KENT KANE, M.D. U.S.N.

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THE  
L I F E  
OF  
DR. ELISHA KENT KANE,

AND OF OTHER  
Distinguished American Explorers:

CONTAINING  
NARRATIVES OF THEIR RESEARCHES AND ADVENTURES IN  
REMOTE AND INTERESTING PORTIONS  
OF THE GLOBE.

BY  
*osher* 1823-1863  
SAMUEL M. SMUCKER, A.M.,  
AUTHOR OF "COURT AND REIGN OF CATHARINE II.," "EMPEROR NICHOLAS I.," "LIFE OF  
ALEXANDER HAMILTON," "ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES,"  
"MEMOIR OF THOMAS JEFFERSON," "MEMORABLE SCENES  
IN FRENCH HISTORY," ETC.

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PHILADELPHIA:  
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PREFACE.

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GEOGRAPHICAL explorers and discoverers constitute a peculiar and distinct class of men; and in many respects their qualities and achievements are homogeneous. Yet, rich as is our literature in historical and biographical works, there is no single volume extant which contains a collection of the lives of the most distinguished Americans of this description. The present writer has endeavored to supply this deficiency, to some extent, in the following pages; and he has selected, as the subjects of his narrative, those individuals who seemed to him to be most remarkable in themselves and to possess the strongest hold on public interest and attention. In preparing this work, the author has appropriated to his use the most reliable sources of information which were accessible, without encroaching upon the rights of others; and an effort has been made to render the biographies as complete as the limits of a single volume would permit. These limits must be regarded as very circumscribed, when the amplitude and variety of the subject are taken into consideration; and hence the reader will observe that, in several of the concluding sections of the volume,

the strictly biographical form has been dropped; the more immaterial and obscure portions of the lives of the subjects of them are overlooked; and the narrative is confined to those events which are most important and historical. As the adventures of Dr. Kane were in many respects more remarkable than those of his rivals, a corresponding prominence has been given to his memoirs, both in the work itself and in its title. Some of the heroes of the following pages are living, and some are dead. In regard to all of them the writer has spoken with impartial freedom and candor, without any reference to the approbation or the censure of those who might be interested in the subject.

The likeness of Dr. Kane contained in this volume, is taken from a full-length portrait published at great expense by the proprietors of the New York Albion, as a premium to their subscribers. It is regarded by competent judges as the best portrait of its distinguished subject now extant, and as preserving the most accurate resemblance to his features and expression. The publisher of this volume has been permitted, by the liberality and courtesy of the proprietors of that valuable journal, to use this plate as far as was necessary for the present purpose.

S. M. S.

PHILADELPHIA, November, 1857.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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It is the singular merit of this Republic that, during a brief national existence which has not yet attained the limits of a century, she has produced men in each department of intellectual excellence, who are celebrated in every portion of the civilized world. It is also a remarkable circumstance connected with the progressive and rapid development of the national greatness, that its master-spirits in every sphere have been evoked into a splendid and efficient existence, precisely in proportion as the developing wants of the country demanded their presence and their activity.

The first necessity of the young Republic was the possession of soldiers and generals whose skill and prowess should overturn the unjust supremacy of Britain, by their achievements on the battle-field, and thus repel the aggressions of the most powerful nation on the globe. That necessity was satisfied as soon as felt, from the rich resources of the nation ;

for the deeds of Washington and his associates in the camp will forever remain, a brilliant and honorable record on the historic page. The next want of the Confederacy was that of statesmen, whose profound and sagacious minds could comprehend the peculiar form of government best adapted to promote the welfare of the people; who possessed the requisite ability to construct such a government; and who were gifted with the practical talent afterward to administer its laws with energy, fidelity, and success. And then also, in that great crisis of the nation's destiny, there arose men whose superiors as statesmen the world has never seen; for all men concede the matchless ability of Alexander Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and their chief associates.

Under their guidance and under that of their worthy successors, among whom Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster rank as noblest and greatest, the territories of the republic have gradually extended, until they now comprise an entire continent filled with a numerous brotherhood of nations, each one of which is equal in wealth, intelligence, and power to many of the renowned kingdoms of the Old World. Everywhere we now behold the prevalence and supremacy of equal laws, of skilful legislation, of judicious education, of industry, security, and prosperity, as the result of the

masterly ability with which the leading minds of the nation, during the last half-century, have moulded and developed the prodigious resources of the people for whom they were called to legislate.

But physical interests and wants are not the only ones which have stirred within the breasts of the twenty millions of freemen who inhabit the land. There is a better department of man's nature than that appropriated to the mere acquisition of wealth, or the development of material resources. The whole history of civilization during past ages proves, that its progress has always been associated first with the practical and necessary, afterward with the ornate and the superfluous, wants and gratifications of the community. Arts and sciences, literature and refinement, inevitably follow in the train of wealth, liberty, and power; and to gratify these more elevated and cultivated impulses of humanity, abilities are necessary which are different in character from those exhibited by the chief actors in the practical and necessary departments of mental labor.

Here again the Republic displayed the creative richness and abundance of her resources; for she now boasts many immortal names in the various departments of science, literature, artistic skill, and mechanical invention. She may point to such rare men as Benjamin West, Washington Irving, Bry-

ant, Noah Webster, Story, Fulton, and Morse; the last of whom seems to possess the power of distributing and circulating the lightning over the face of the earth, in obedience to his will, with almost the same facility as that with which Omnipotence wields and manages the thunderbolts, in the blue concave of heaven. It may be asserted, without the least exaggeration, that few nations of ancient or modern times have produced so many gifted minds in every department of intellectual power, during so short a period of national existence, as the United States.

But there is still another high and noble sphere of endeavor, which the best impulses of a great people will eventually comprehend, when the more immediate and pressing necessities of their existence have been satisfied. This sphere requires as elevated a range of mental ability as many of those to which we have just referred; with an advantage over some of them in the sublimity of sentiment and the disinterested philanthropy which impel men to become heroes in it. This is the department in which the resources of science are appropriated to the accomplishment of the aims of benevolence and philanthropy. Such as these are the missionaries of religion and knowledge, who explore the dark places of the earth carrying in their hands the



torches both of divine and human wisdom. Such as these are the adventurers who, while they place their own existence in jeopardy, visit the domains of physical suffering, privation, and peril, either to rescue others whom an unpropitious fate has there detained in continual danger of destruction; or who endure the utmost extremes of all that men can undergo, in order to extend the boundaries of knowledge, to investigate the hidden mysteries of the globe, and ascertain what portion of its treasures may yet remain unknown, which, if appropriated to the service of man, might elevate his nature, might ameliorate his condition, and might increase his happiness.

We have selected the most distinguished persons of this class of whom the nation can boast, as the subjects of the following pages; although there are several others whose biographies might not unfitly have been added to the list, had the limits of the volume permitted. Such men are indispensably necessary to the completion and fulness of a nation's glory. They are just as requisite for that purpose as profound statesmen, as able writers, as sublime poets, as learned divines, as ingenious inventors. Till such men arose to toil for the enlargement of human knowledge and the promotion of human felicity, a lofty niche in the great Pantheon of the national glory remained unfilled. Those who

are entitled to an enduring position there are being gradually elevated, by the suffrages of an impartial and enlightened community, to their appropriate eminences: and while Britannia, the boasted mistress of the seas, heralds with vaunting pride the names and the achievements of her Ross, Parry, Franklin, Beechey, and Cook, Columbia may justly demand an equal meed of fame for her Kane, Fremont, Ledyard, Wilkes, and Perry; and she is recreant to her own honor if she do not proclaim their merits more widely to the world.

# PART I.

## ELISHA KENT KANE.

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### CHAPTER I

#### YOUTH AND EARLY TRAINING OF DR. KANE.

ELISHA KENT KANE was born in the city of Philadelphia, on the third day of February, 1820. He was the eldest son of the Hon. John K. Kane, who, since 1845, has presided in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Several of the ancestors of the subject of this memoir were distinguished by their deeds of patriotism and philanthropy during the memorable era of the Revolution. It is narrated in the annals of that eventful time that one of these, Mrs. Martha Gray, won the gratitude of the American army and people by her assiduity in rendering assistance to nine hundred sick and wounded prisoners, who had fallen into the hands of the British when they held possession of Philadelphia. These unfortunate men were destitute of necessary food, clothing, and me-

dical treatment. They were made the victims of every imaginable outrage which the cruelty and malignity of their captors could inflict. In spite of very considerable obstacles, Mrs. Gray visited them repeatedly in their prison; nursed, fed, and clothed them to the extent of her ability; and was even arrested as a spy by the British officers, who were incensed at her kindly and charitable interference. She nevertheless persisted in her good offices until the discharge of the prisoners; when her services were properly acknowledged by a unanimous vote of thanks passed by the American officers immediately after their release.

Of Thomas Leiper, another ancestor of Dr. Kane, it is recorded that he was a special favorite of General Washington, and that he was present and fought in many of the most important battles of the Revolution. It was he whom the Continental Congress selected to perform the difficult and responsible duty of conveying to the commander-in-chief, then engaged in the siege of Boston, the first money which was sent by them to defray the expenses of the war. This commission Colonel Leiper executed with great prudence and success. It was he who, at a much later period, in conjunction with his friend Robert Morris, the leading financier of the Revolution, loaned one-third of his personal estate

to the Bank of North America, to enable it to furnish Washington with the means necessary to accomplish his masterly march to Yorktown; which resulted in the fall of that fortress, in the capture of the whole army of Lord Cornwallis, in the honorable and triumphant termination of the war, and in the establishment of the liberty, the unity, and the prosperity of this Confederacy. After peace was proclaimed, Colonel Leiper refused to accept any remuneration for his services except the thanks of General Washington. He afterward became one of the most prominent Jeffersonian or Democratic politicians of his native State, though he constantly refused to accept any office of emolument or profit.

The peculiar disposition of Elisha Kane, as displayed in his early youth, furnished infallible prognostications of the future man. He was remarkable for his activity, his vivacity, his restless energy both of mind and body. Although his physical frame exhibited but an ordinary degree of strength, it possessed an unusual proportion of hidden power and vitality. His mental qualities corresponded with the peculiarities of his bodily structure. He was bold, daring, reckless, and resistive to a wonderful extent. Any cautious and reflective individual of the wiser sort, calmly observing for a moment the restless activity which he displayed in all his move-



ments, would have unhesitatingly predicted a broken head or a dislocated neck as the speedy and inevitable termination of his career. Of temper, too, he was not by any means deficient, but he possessed even more than an ordinary share of it; although his pugnacity was generally controlled by the superior direction of his reason. When he *did* indulge his combative propensities, it was usually in defence of juvenile rights, in punishment of infantile wrongs, and in vindication of injured and helpless innocence. His daring and venturesome disposition often placed him in positions of great peril; and the future and more historical dangers of the Arctic zone were not unfrequently anticipated on the tops of lofty houses, among the limbs of towering trees, in escaping through trap-doors upon the roofs, and in climbing to the summit of tall, smoking chimneys. Whatever was most desperate and perilous within the accomplishment of the most resolute of boys, *that* possessed a peculiar and irresistible attraction for the youthful adventurer. Yet even at an early age, though rebellious against restraint both at home and at school, he gave striking proofs of a penetrating and vigorous intellect. His faculty of observation was acute, sagacious, and comprehensive. There was much intellectual substance closely packed in his somewhat diminutive frame, like a mental coil



or web, ready to be afterward unfolded and developed by the exigencies of great occasions and the perils of critical positions. The language of an eminent writer may be applied to him with peculiar propriety: "That inconsiderable figure of his contained a whole spirit-kingdom and Reflex of the All; and, though to the eye but some *five* standard feet in size, reaches downwards and upwards, unsurveyable, fading into the regions of Immensity and Eternity. Life everywhere, as woven on that stupendous ever-marvellous Loom of Time, may be said to fashion itself of a woof of light, yet on a warp of mystic darkness: only He that created it can understand it."\*

The first place of instruction which Elisha Kane attended was that conducted by Mr. Waldron, in Eighth street near Walnut, in his native city. This gentleman, who has since become a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, was a man of superior education, and fully competent to perfect his pupils in all the elementary branches of learning. After spending some time under his tuition to little purpose, Elisha was sent to the University of Virginia, where he entered one of the subordinate classes.

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\* *Vide* Miscellanies of Thomas Carlyle: Essay on Diderot, Boston ed., Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1855.

While connected with this institution, his habits of study were desultory but energetic. Even then he displayed a singular fondness for geographical adventure and discovery, which never afterward abated.

The University of Virginia was selected as a suitable institution for the completion of the collegiate studies of Elisha Kane, because the course of instruction there used was better adapted to improve him in his favorite branches. These were the natural sciences and mathematics. In other departments of study his inattention or his indifference had rendered him deficient; but in the former he excelled. During the year and a half which he spent at the Virginia University he became a favorite pupil of Professor Rodgers, who was at that time employed in effecting a geological survey of the Blue Mountains. Young Kane accompanied him in his labors, and displayed the utmost zeal in making geological, mineralogical, and botanical researches. At this period he seems to have selected civil engineering as his future profession in life; and he shaped his studies with reference to that ultimate purpose. Already he had acquired an honorable eminence among his fellow-students in the department to which his attention was chiefly directed, and it is probable that he would have completed his mathematical and scientific studies with

distinction ; but in his eighteenth year he was compelled to relinquish them, in consequence of a violent attack of rheumatism, and the unexpected appearance of the first symptoms of that dangerous and insidious affection of the heart with which he was afflicted, to a greater or less degree, during the remainder of his life. He was brought home dangerously sick, without having taken a degree. During several months his life was in imminent danger. The nature of his disease was such that the summons of death might reach him at any instant, and terminate his existence suddenly and abruptly. During some weeks he may be said to have been hovering over the abyss of the grave, uncertain as to the moment in which he might be compelled to descend beneath its gloomy shadows.

It was while he continued in this critical situation that an important moral change was effected in his mind. He became devout and conscientious. He adopted certain religious opinions and ethical rules, to which he adhered, with the pertinacious constancy peculiar to his character, as long as he lived. It will not be pretended that all the acts of his subsequent career were blameless or *sans faute* ; but that he *always* believed them to be such will not be denied by any candid and intelligent observer of his conduct.

The health of Elisha Kane gradually improved. In his nineteenth year he commenced the study of medicine, in the office and under the tuition of Dr. Harris, of Philadelphia. He engaged in this pursuit with great ardor and success, inasmuch as he had at that time determined to devote his life to the practice of the healing art. So marked was his progress that, in October, 1840, he was elected one of the resident physicians in the Blockley Hospital, although he had not yet attained his majority, had attended but one course of medical lectures, and was still, therefore, an undergraduate. In the succeeding year, a vacancy having occurred among the Senior Resident Physicians in that institution, Elisha Kane was chosen to fill it. A promotion of this important description clearly evinces superior ability, industry, prudence, and general excellence of character on the part of its youthful recipient; for, although some of this success may be ascribed to the patronage of friends, much more should be attributed to his own personal merit.



## CHAPTER II.

### ORIENTAL WANDERINGS, DISCOVERIES, AND PERILS.

IN March, 1842, having been connected during the period of a year and a half with the Blockley Hospital, Elisha Kane completed his regular course of medical studies in the University of Pennsylvania and received his doctor's degree. On this occasion he chose for the subject of his thesis the unfamiliar and esoteric theme known under the name of *Kyestein*. This term represents a new substance which had but shortly before that period been discovered by a member of the medical profession in Paris; and it was then supposed to possess great importance in investigations having reference to utero-gestation. The inquiry was new and important. A few experiments had already been made in reference to it in the hospital; but Dr. Kane, having selected it as the topic of his thesis, entered into more enlarged and accurate researches on the subject. The result of these labors was, that his production was regarded by those best qualified to judge, as possessing unusual interest and permanent scientific value; and

as such, a copy was requested by the faculty for publication. An incident of this description clearly indicated the superior attainments and abilities of the newly-fledged *Æsculapius*.

Having thus entered the medical profession with more than ordinary promise of success, Dr. Kane obtained from the Secretary of the Navy permission to undergo an examination for the post of surgeon. The result, as might have been anticipated, was favorable. When Caleb Cushing sailed in May, 1843, upon his diplomatic mission to China, Dr. Kane received an appointment as one of the physicians to the embassy. He was attached to the *Brandywine*, commanded by Commodore Parker. The vessel touched at Bombay, and was unexpectedly detained there during some months in consequence of the burning of the steamer *Missouri*. During this interval the young traveller embraced the opportunity to visit and examine the celebrated cavernous temples of Elephanta. He also explored a portion of the tropical island of Ceylon, and there revelled amid the rarest scenes of Oriental adventure and travel.

From Ceylon the embassy proceeded to Macao, its ultimate destination in the Celestial Empire. Half a year was employed in the tedious negotiations which ensued between the American and the Chinese plenipotentiaries; but Dr. Kane was in-



capable at any time of listless idleness and inactivity. He employed this interval to excellent purpose. He was aware that the Philippine Islands, and especially Luzon, the largest of them, contained many peculiar features which were worthy of scientific scrutiny and observation. He eagerly embraced the opportunity now afforded him to examine them. Prominent among the natural phenomena of this quarter of the globe was the celebrated volcano of *Tael*, in the island of Luzon. Its mysterious and perilous depths had never yet been explored, or even invaded, by the adventurous foot of man. To the native Malays it was shrouded in mysterious awe and terror, as the supposed abode of their great god, the Deity of the *Tael*; and they regarded any attempt to penetrate its depths, or to descend into its bosom, as fraught with sacrilegious crime, as well as attended by inevitable death. Dr. Kane was totally uninfluenced by any such considerations; nor did he heed the graver objections resulting from the great personal danger which attended the exploration which he proposed. The summit of the crater of *Tael* is two miles in circumference. Its perpendicular height is four hundred yards above the level of the sea. The interior of the crater descends seventy yards in a perpendicular direction, after which the declension becomes less abrupt. At the bottom of

the crater there are many active peaks or cones, whence constantly issue jets of sulphurous flame; while in the cavities between them there are bodies of boiling green water.

Into this uninviting pandemonium Dr. Kane determined to descend. Attended by suitable guides and assistants, he reached the summit of the crater. His associates, appalled by the spectacle below, did their utmost to persuade him not to venture amid the imminent perils which overhung the attempt; but they reasoned in vain. A long bamboo rope was accordingly procured, fastened round his waist, and the adventurer was slowly lowered down the perpendicular wall which surrounded the summit of the cone. Having descended two hundred feet by this means, Dr. Kane detached himself from the line, and still proceeded down toward the mouth or centre of the crater, several hundred feet below. Here, while hanging over the central vortex of the volcano, and while compelled to inhale the deadly sulphurous vapor which rolled up from its fiery mouth, he deliberately filled his bottles with the volcanic acid, and gathered geological specimens and *scoriæ*, in possession of which he effected his return to the invaluable rope. But by this time his strength had become nearly exhausted. With great difficulty he succeeded in placing the bamboo again around his

body; and, giving the appointed signal to his attendants above to heave away, he was drawn up from that Tartarean cavern more dead than alive. He fainted on reaching the summit of the crater, and was with difficulty restored to consciousness by the use of active medical agents.

From Luzon Dr. Kane returned to Macao. In August, 1844, the American embassy sailed on its voyage home; but Dr. Kane did not accompany it. It was his purpose not to follow so direct a route, nor to travel in such haste, but to embrace the opportunity which was then afforded him to visit the vast and interesting countries which intervened. Accordingly he journeyed through the interior of India, and traversed the Himalaya Mountains. Travelling westward through those romantic climes of the gorgeous Orient, whose historical glories and whose natural wonders no one was able to appreciate better than himself, he reached Alexandria. Hence he proceeded to the examination of the mysteries and wonders of the land of the Nile. He visited Thebes, the city of a hundred gates; the Pyramids; the Second Cataracts; the Temples of Rameses; the mysterious and once musical, but now voiceless, statue of Memnon. From Egypt he proceeded to Greece, and visited Athens, Leuctra, Parnassus, and the historical plains of Plataea and Thermopylae.

Having exhausted the most interesting and instructive localities within the confines of the once fair and free Hellas, he journeyed on by the Adriatic to Venice, still "throned upon her hundred isles;" and from Vienna, through Germany, Switzerland, and France, to London, and thence to his native land.

Dr. Kane reached the United States in August, 1846. Being still connected with the navy as assistant surgeon, and being desirous, as usual, of engaging in active service, he was shortly afterward despatched to the coast of Africa, in the frigate "United States," under the orders of Commodore Reed. The object of this expedition was to aid in the suppression of the slave-trade; and during his residence near the kingdom of Dahomey, one of the great African marts of that bloody and inhuman traffic, Dr. Kane had an opportunity of exploring a portion of the interior of that benighted kingdom. He was here violently attacked by the coast fever. The disease made formidable ravages upon his delicate constitution; and he was so greatly reduced that he was sent home in a Liberian transport-ship, as the only possible means of averting certain and impending death.



## CHAPTER III.

### DR. KANE'S ADVENTURES IN MEXICO—SKETCH OF ARCTIC EXPLORATION.

DR. KANE never recovered from the ravages produced by the African fever upon his system. It required some months of assiduous care and nursing before he became able to think again of any serious engagement. The war between the United States and Mexico was then in progress; and as his physical frame recovered a portion of its strength, his mind regained its wonted energy and activity. He could not rest idly while other men were fighting the battles of his country, and winning the laurels which are due to the brave. Accordingly, toward the end of the year 1847 he applied to President Polk for permission to join the army in Mexico with a military commission. The President, after some deliberation, granted his request, ordered him to join the medical staff of the army, and intrusted him with important despatches for General Scott. He journeyed rapidly to New Orleans, and sailed thence to Vera Cruz. Escaping shipwreck in the

Gulf as by a miracle, he entered that port, disembarked, and advanced toward the position occupied by the American army as far as Perote.

It was on this occasion that one of the most romantic incidents connected with the whole career of Dr. Kane occurred. He found it absolutely necessary to obtain an escort before advancing any farther into the hostile territory, which was filled with roving companies of guerrillas. It was impossible at that moment to secure any other protection than that afforded by a renegade Mexican named Dominguez, who had entered the American service together with a large number of his desperate and outlawed associates. Thus attended, Dr. Kane continued his journey toward the city of Mexico. When they arrived at Nopaluca, the intelligence arrived, that a body of Mexican troops was approaching for the purpose of intercepting him and seizing the despatches. Overcome with terror, Dominguez immediately proposed to retreat; but Kane vehemently resisted this purpose, and threatened him with the vengeance of the American Government should he execute it. By this time the two hostile parties came in sight of each other on the summit of a hill. Kane immediately commanded his men to charge, and himself led them forward with the coolness and heroism of a veteran.



The Mexicans were commanded by General Gaona, a soldier of some distinction in the service of his country. He was accompanied by his son, a young officer of great promise. Dr. Kane's horse was severely wounded and fell to the ground. He soon released himself from the prostrate animal, and continued to fight. The action was brief but decisive. General Gaona and his son were both wounded; General Torrejon, five officers, and forty privates were taken prisoners. Dr. Kane was himself slightly wounded, and conducted himself on this occasion with great gallantry. The victory of the Americans was complete.

But the most singular episode of this occasion yet remained to be enacted. The younger Gaona was bleeding to death from his wound in the lungs. Dr. Kane, perceiving his critical condition, succeeded in tying up a severed artery, and thus saved the life of his gallant foe. After journeying for some distance with their prisoners, the savage Dominguez seemed determined to wreak his vengeance on the captives by putting them to death. This inhuman purpose Dr. Kane resolutely opposed; but it was not until he displayed the most determined repugnance to it, and even drew his revolver and threatened to shoot the first man who laid his hand upon a prisoner, that he succeeded in changing the intention

of the bloodthirsty bandit. The whole Mexican party owed their lives to the heroic firmness of Dr. Kane; and General Gaona subsequently testified his sense of gratitude to his preserver, when he was attacked with dangerous illness, by having him conveyed to his own sumptuous residence in the city of Puebla, and nursing him there in his own family with the utmost care and assiduity until his partial recovery. A considerable interval elapsed before that event was attained; and so greatly had Dr. Kane been prostrated by his disease, which was an aggravated form of typhus, that the report of his death became prevalent, and even reached his relatives in Philadelphia. But the tender offices of the grateful old general and of his accomplished and beautiful daughters once more rescued our hero from the gaping jaws of the grave.

As soon as Dr. Kane recovered sufficiently to be able to travel, he hastened to the city of Mexico and delivered his despatches into the hands of General Scott. He remained at the seat of war until peace was proclaimed. When that propitious event occurred he began to journey homeward. In April he embarked at Vera Cruz; and in a short time he reached Philadelphia, still suffering severely from the wound which he had received in the action at Nopaluca. In February, 1849, a number of the

most distinguished citizens of Philadelphia, rightly judging that some honorary memorial of his gallant services was due, presented him with a handsome sword, as an evidence of their high appreciation of his short but brilliant military career.

In the year 1849 Dr. Kane made a voyage in the store-ship "Supply" to the Mediterranean. During this trip, as if to furnish him with a general variety and assortment of bodily ailments, he suffered an attack of lockjaw. He bled himself profusely, and, by so doing, prolonged his life. He returned home, and spent a large portion of the year 1850 in attempts to recruit his shattered health, partly in his native State and partly beneath the more genial sky of a Southern clime. During this period a subject admirably adapted to enlist the profoundest interest of a person possessing his peculiar qualities and temperament was deeply engaging the public attention. Several hundreds of British seamen had been enveloped and lost amid the eternal snows of the Polar clime; and their rescue from death, or the discovery of their fate if dead, became an enterprise which excited the admiring sympathy of the civilized world. Would it be possible for Elisha Kent Kane to view such a theme and such a purpose with cold indifference?

The discovery of a passage to the East Indies by

the North Pole—thus obtaining a much more direct route than by doubling the distant and stormy Cape of Good Hope—is one of those utopian and fanciful conceptions, which have charmed and deluded the imaginations of nautical men during several centuries. The first formal proposition which was ever made on the subject by a person of consequence came from a distinguished merchant of Bristol, who, in 1527, presented a memorial to King Henry VIII. of England, setting forth some considerations in favor of the feasibility and desirableness of obtaining such a passage. But that royal and detestable brute was too busily engaged in gratifying his passions and divorcing and murdering his wives, to devote any serious attention to so dangerous and repulsive an enterprise. The first expedition which was sent forth to explore the Polar seas was fitted out by a few merchants of London during the earlier portion of the seventeenth century. Their exertions did not accomplish any important results or attain any very valuable information; yet the subject attracted public attention, and the lapse of time was only necessary to increase the interest already felt in reference to it.

In 1773 the first expedition which was organized with the patronage of the British Government was despatched under the command of Captain Phipps,



who had secured the favorable influence of Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty. His squadron consisted of the "Racehorse" and the "Carcass;" and although the commander was an officer of great ability and resolution, such happened at that time to be the peculiar and perilous condition of the Polar seas, that he found it impossible to penetrate the immense wall of ice which stretched between the latitude of eighty-one degrees to the north of Spitzbergen.

The Russian navigators have divided with those of Great Britain the chief honors attendant upon the exploration of the Arctic zone. In 1648 one of the former, Admiral Deshnew, penetrated through the Polar into the Pacific Ocean. In 1741 the intrepid Behring discovered the straits which now bear his name and render it immortal. Captains Tschischagoff, Vancouver, Billings, and Von Wrangell were all celebrated Russian explorers, who, at different periods and under various circumstances, toiled heroically to force the colossal barriers which seemed to conceal so jealously from the scrutiny of man the secrets of that repulsive and inhospitable realm.

The wars which shook the continent of Europe during Napoleon's prodigious career suspended for a time all activity in Arctic research. Previous to

this period Captain Hearne had obtained a glimpse of the Polar Sea, in 1771; and not long after, Captain MacKenzie discovered the river which flows into that hyperborean gulf to which his own name was given. These adventurers succeeded in exploring the eastern and western coasts of Greenland as far as 75° N. latitude. Hudson's Bay and Strait had also been clearly traced by the intrepid navigator of that name. But all the greater and more perilous *arcana* of that vast world of frozen mountains, seas, coasts, and headlands, still remained uninvaded and unknown to the most resolute intruder.

With the establishment of a European peace the attention of the English Government was again attracted to this subject. In 1818 Sir John Ross achieved his first Arctic voyage in the ships "Isabella" and "Alexander." No previous expedition had ever been so fully equipped as this for the important purposes and arduous duties for which it was intended. Captain Ross explored Smith's, Jones's, and Lancaster Sounds, and made many valuable observations and discoveries. In the same year Captains Buchan and Franklin were sent out to the coast of Spitzbergen in the "Dorothea" and "Trent." This was the first Arctic voyage made by that heroic commander whose labors and whose mysterious fate have, during so many years, so



deeply engaged the attention and sympathy of the civilized world. In 1820 the expedition under Captain William Parry was undertaken, which was afterward followed, in 1821, by his second and more famous venture. In 1824 the same able commander achieved his third Arctic voyage. Our limited space forbids us to enumerate *seriatim* even the most important expeditions which ensued, during the progress of the present century, in pursuit of the same great achievement of Arctic discovery,—the attainment of a northwest passage.\* In 1845, Sir John Franklin, who had continued to serve with increasing distinction in the British navy since the year 1800, embarked on his last memorable Arctic expedition, in command of the ships “Erebus” and “Terror.” Great expectations were entertained in reference to the probable results to be effected by this expedition, in consequence of the high fame already secured by its commander for ability, resolution, and experience. No apprehensions were felt for the safety of the expedition till after the lapse of three years,

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\* The reader will find a complete history of all these expeditions in the work entitled “Arctic Explorations and Discoveries during the Nineteenth Century, being Detailed Accounts of the Several Expeditions made to the North Seas, both English and American; concluding with that of Dr. E. K. Kane.” Edited with large additions by Samuel M. Smucker, New York. Miller, Orton & Co., 1857. pp. 517, 12mo.

when the public interest became painfully excited on the subject. Accordingly, in 1848 the British Government despatched Sir James Ross, in command of the "Enterprise" and "Investigator," in search of the absent wanderers. During successive years fifteen different expeditions were sent forth from England, for both the purpose of rescuing those who might yet survive of Franklin's associates, and to obtain some intimation or revelation of their ultimate fate. The interest felt in the subject was not confined to the native land of the unfortunate explorers; but it extended also to other countries. On such an occasion the United States would naturally sympathize more deeply with the perils of the gallant sufferers than most other countries; and hence that first American expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, with which the destiny of Dr. Kane became subsequently identified, was planned by the American Government and executed under its auspices. Dr. Kane, true to the impulses of his nature, requested permission of the United States Government to join that expedition; and his request was readily complied with.

## CHAPTER IV.

### DR. KANE'S FIRST ARCTIC EXPEDITION—SCENES IN BAFFIN'S BAY.

It was on the 12th of May, 1850, while cruising in the Gulf of Mexico, that Dr. Kane received a telegraphic despatch from the seat of the Federal Government, ordering him to proceed immediately to New York and join the Arctic Expedition which was about to sail thence, under the command of Lieut. E. J. De Haven, in search of Sir John Franklin. He reached New York after a rapid journey of seven days and a half, and immediately provided himself with the most essential implements of scientific observation, and the chief ingredients of an Arctic wardrobe. He also procured a few select and favorite volumes as companions of his studious solitude during the long, dark, monotonous hours of his wintry exile.

Two small brigs, named the "Advance" and the "Rescue," had been appropriated by the Government to the uses of this expedition. Both vessels together amounted only to two hundred and thirty-

five tons' burden. Notwithstanding their diminutive size, they were admirably adapted to the purposes, the vicissitudes, and the hardships of a cruise in the Polar clime; for they had been constructed with special reference to an extreme power of resistance. Their hulls may be said to have been double, and were inwardly braced and clamped with masses of strong timber, which diverged and crossed each other in various directions throughout their interiors. The liberality of Mr. Grinnell, of New York, had also been exhibited in the lavish manner in which the appointments and equipments of the expedition had been furnished.

The crews of the two brigs were man-of-war's men, who had been selected with special reference to their familiarity with the most difficult and laborious branches of the service; and they numbered, with the officers, thirty-three men. Dr. Kane held the post of passed assistant surgeon in the *Advance*. On the 22d of May the vessels sailed from the port of New York, and glided down the placid waters of that magnificent bay, hurried forward by the vigorous and untiring power of a steam-tug. Soon the crowded edifices and lofty turrets of the metropolis faded from their receding view; and by the time the shadows of evening descended upon the diversified scene of rolling billow and verdant



landscape, they reached Sandy Hook, and tokens of a gathering storm overclouded the heavens.

On the 7th of June the *Advance* reached Newfoundland. Here the adventurers obtained their first view of an iceberg. A vast mass, "twice the size of Girard College," of the purest white, loomed up before their vision, and came sailing slowly and majestically downward from the interior realms of that frozen and awful zone which they were themselves approaching. After this period the novelty of these colossal masses gradually wore away, and they became quite familiar, but not always quite harmless, though generally very grand and impressive. On the 20th the *Advance* made the coast near the towering peak called Sukkertoppen, which is one of the great landmarks of that rugged region. Thence they proceeded to the Crown Prince Islands, which had been appointed as the place where the *Rescue* should again join the *Advance*. This spot is a small settlement inhabited by Esquimaux, who acknowledge the supremacy of Denmark. The Danes use it as a fishing-station; and all the inhabitants depend for their subsistence entirely upon the precarious produce of their nets.

On the 27th Dr. Kane was sent by the commander, with a crew of five men, to the settlement of Lively, for the purpose of obtaining information



and purchasing an additional stock of furs. This place is the residence of the Danish Inspector of Northern Greenland, and possesses one comfortable residence. Dr. Kane succeeded in securing a supply of seal-skins, which were afterward of great and even of essential service to the members of the expedition. He and his crew then returned to the *Advance*, and on the 29th the two brigs resumed their voyage, doubled the southwest cape of Disco, and steered directly for the Pole. On the 3d of July the vessels passed a lofty headland, called from its appearance Black Head, in the neighborhood of which the crews celebrated, on the ensuing day, the national anniversary; but their solitary position and the limited nature of their supplies made their observance of it devoid of special interest. On the 6th they approached Upernavik, the last settlement of Esquimaux to be found in those Northern realms. They still sailed onward without serious obstruction, though frequently surrounded by floating icebergs, until the 8th, when, at dawn of day, they found themselves wedged fast in an immense sheet of snow-covered ice. The vessels bore the singular appearance of being locked in the centre of a dreary and frozen ocean.

During twenty-one days the brigs remained imprisoned in the ice, unable to move in any direc-

tion except in a small circle six miles in extent. Innumerable efforts were made to warp and work their way through the ice, but generally to little purpose. They were embedded in what is known as the Middle Pack of Melville Bay. Sometimes, during the progress of a day, they advanced half a ship's length. New ice was constantly forming in the little pools in which the vessels lay. And this occurred in July, beneath a midsummer's sun! On the 28th of the month the wind shifted to the eastward, the floes opened wider, water became visible to the north and east, and the men cast off and commenced to bore the ice. The sea was now covered with immense fragments of broken ice, which dashed and surged around them, grinding fiercely against each other and sometimes against the helpless vessels tossing in their midst. They sailed along with their topsail-yard on the cap. A gale blew, and they ran a perilous race before it. On the 29th they left the pack, and in two days they had made forty miles in spite of the perils of the rolling icebergs and the turbulent sea.

On the 2d of August the vessels reached the coast between Allison's and Duneira Bays, north of 75°. Here they caught a glimpse of the shores of Greenland. It was covered with immense glaciers, which, even at the distance of eighteen miles, presented a

sublime and imposing appearance. The extent of coast thus seen at a single view was about forty miles, and its uneven heights frequently towered aspiringly against the wintry heavens to the distance of nine hundred feet. Its edges, where they met the sea, were abrupt and lofty precipices, by whose base vast icebergs were slowly and grandly sailing, some of which were three or four hundred feet in height. Dr. Kane counted two hundred and eight of these, of various sizes, within the horizon at a single time. The altitude of the icebergs of Baffin's Bay exceeds that of all others. Forster computes the greatest altitude of Antarctic ice at a hundred feet and upward. Graah observed none higher on the eastern coast of Greenland than a hundred and twenty feet. Scoresby computes those in the Spitzbergen Sea at two hundred feet. But Sir John Ross gives the accurate measurement of one in Baffin's Bay at three hundred and twenty-five feet in height and twelve hundred in length. The multiform appearances and the sublime effect of these colossal products of Polar cold and Polar seas it would be impossible for language to depict.

Many of these icebergs are covered with detritus, or *débris* of rock, earth, and sand. Dr. Kane obtained some specimens of rock from one which had thawed down to the water's edge. They were com-

posed of quartz, gneiss, syenite, and others, all belonging to the primary series. These rocks had been thus exposed to view from the change which had taken place in the equilibrium of the berg, thus placing that portion of it which had been formerly near its base in a more elevated position. The forms and shapes of these Polar icebergs are innumerable, and sometimes most fantastic. Often their coloring is beautiful in the extreme, when the rays of the sun impinge upon, and are refracted at certain angles from, their diversified and irregular surfaces.

Now and then the tedious monotony of the cruise was relieved by a thrilling adventure with the Polar bears. On the 7th of August an incident of this description occurred. In the morning a bear was seen approaching the Rescue, attracted by curiosity to inspect more closely the bold strangers who had thus invaded the solitudes of his own inhospitable clime. When first discovered he was swimming toward the vessel, breaking the newly-formed ice with his fore-paws. He then made successive dives, coming up each time between the cavities in the ice. As he first rose from these immersions, he panted and shook his head to free it from the water. A boat advanced from the vessel to meet him. Captain Griffin was the first who saluted him with a bullet, which lodged under his left shoulder, but



produced no effect. Several other balls struck him before he seemed to become aware of the dangerous nature of his new acquaintances. He then turned to escape. Another shot severed the lumbar vertebræ; when the poor beast continued to drag his paralyzed extremities after him. His pursuers soon came upon him, and he was quickly dispatched with a bayonet. Three days afterward another hunt on a larger scale took place. Three bears were seen deliberately perambulating the ice on the left, and three others were observed on the land-ice in the opposite direction. One of these parties approached the vessels and soon came boldly within shot. Their curiosity and their rashness cost one of them dearly, for he was killed by a bullet lodged in his brain; but while the men were securing him, the rest profited by the interval to make good their escape. Shortly after this interesting and victorious episode, both vessels came very near suffering an equally disastrous fate, by being crushed between the seaward ice and the land-floe; the former of which, with a momentum of several millions of tons, came floating down and rested upon the latter at the speed of a knot an hour, having the two vessels between them. Fortunately both vessels rose upon the advancing ice and were saved, after having unshipped their rudders.



## CHAPTER V.

### ADVENTURES AND DISCOVERIES AT BEECHEY ISLAND.

THE Advance and Rescue still pursued their slow and tedious progress northward, and reached Capes York and Dudley Diggs. Here the most attractive incident consisted in shooting the Arctic birds termed auks, which nestled and bred in countless numbers on the beetling crags. Here Dr. Kane's usual intrepidity and desire of discovery led him into a position of great peril. He climbed up the rugged heights of the shore, where one of the most populous colonies was located. The angle of deposit was about fifty degrees. By the use of a walking-pole he ascended from one crag to another, the fragments of rock and earth receding under his feet and rolling far down to the plain below. His descent was more dangerous even than his ascent. His walking-pole was whirled from his grasp by the falling fragments. He succeeded at last in reaching a projecting point of feldspar. Against this point the descending earth and stones struck, and divided into two currents. With much difficulty and danger Dr.

Kane pursued his return to the surface of the level earth and made his way to the vessel.

On the 19th of August the expedition had cleared the limits of Baffin's Bay. On the same day they discovered two vessels sailing in their wake, which proved to be the squadron of Captain Penny, sent out by the British Government in pursuit of Sir John Franklin. A hearty welcome and exchange of news ensued between the ships. When off Admiralty Inlet, they also met that heroic veteran of Arctic discovery and adventure, Sir John Ross, also cruising in a small vessel in search of his lost friend and ancient comrade. On the 25th the American squadron continued their way and reached Cape Riley. Here they discovered two cairns upon the shore, which Dr. Kane inspected with great care; and he came to the conclusion that they were actual traces of Sir John Franklin's party. This was, indeed, no new discovery, for others had seen and examined these cairns before. But Dr. Kane's reasoning, whereby they are supposed to have been memorials of the lost navigators, is both original and convincing. He contended that their appearance and structure prove that they could not be of Esquimaux origin; that the only European who could have erected them or had visited Cape Riley was Captain Parry; that his journal establishes the fact

that he had not *encamped* there; and that Captain Ommaney's discovery of similar vestiges on Beechey Island shows that these cairns lie on the direct track of a party moving between it and the channel. These considerations, which Dr. Kane argues and develops at length in his journal, clearly justify the inference that these were evident traces of the lost navigator.

On the 27th inst, the officers of the American and English squadrons were destined to meet a rich reward of their toils, and to discover the most important as well as the most interesting memorials of Sir John Franklin which have ever been obtained. Captain Penny's party had first observed them, and news was immediately sent to Lieut. De Haven of the propitious event. The latter, accompanied by Dr. Kane and Commander Phillips of the English squadron, immediately proceeded from the Advance, over the ice, to the frozen shore of Beechey Island; and there they found the objects referred to in the information which they had received. They consisted of a piece of canvas, with the name of one of Sir J. Franklin's ships, the "Terror," inscribed upon it; a guide-board lying on the ground, having been prostrated by the wind; a large number of tin canisters, which had contained preserved meats; an anvil-block; a tub; an unfinished rope-mat;

and various patches of clothing. But the most remarkable mementos of all were three graves, side by side, of that gallant band who had perished amid those Arctic solitudes and had there been laid to rest. These graves were simple and neat in their appearance, such as British sailors generally construct over the bodies of their unfortunate messmates in every quarter of the globe, whether they expire in the frozen zones of the North, the coral-girded isles of the South, the verdant and spicy climes of the East, or the gold-burdened lands of the West. They were graves which reminded the observer of some quiet rural churchyard in England or in our own country, where the departed sleep beneath the very eaves of the humble sanctuary, surrounded by the green turf, the waving grass, and the blooming rose, with which the hand of affection, or the unaided fruitfulness of nature, has embellished them. One of the graves was especially suggestive of mournful thoughts. Its inscription ran thus: "Sacred to the memory of John Hartwell, A.B., of H. M. S. Erebus, aged twenty-three years." Here was a youth who had been reared amid the classic shades and the ennobling influences of one of England's great Universities,—either a Cantab or an Oxonian; and it had been his strange and melancholy fate to terminate his brief career in this inhospitable realm,



and lay his form to take its last, long slumber in that lonely and cheerless solitude, far distant from all that was connected with the hopes and joys of his youthful prime, and from the tender and loving hearts which were most deeply interested in his happiness and fate.

Dr. Kane and his companions found other traces about four hundred yards farther on. Shavings of wood were strewed around, a series of mounds, portions of a stocking and glove, and even the remnant of a garden. At some distance they found a deposit of more than six hundred preserved-meat cans, while minor indications of the former presence of the party were numerous. But still there was no written intimation anywhere discovered of date, of purpose, or of the condition and experience of the party. This is singular, as it was the uniform custom of Arctic explorers to leave memorials of that description at every spot where they had found a permanent resting-place. All these indications proved, as Dr. Kane clearly establishes in his narrative of this expedition, that Sir John Franklin and his party wintered here in 1845-46; that the squadron had been occupied during the winter in the various organized expeditions of discovery which are generally sent out from the main station; that Sir John Franklin had undertaken and perhaps



executed a systematic and thorough reconnoissance of Wellington Channel; and that until that date the health of his crews had been good, only three being known to have died out of a hundred and thirty.

During the sojourn of these vessels at Beechey Island, Dr. Kane visited the English ship *Resolute*; and he narrates that, when he observed how far superior the organization and preparation of that vessel to confront Arctic rigors were to those of the American squadron, he felt a sensation of despondency. Says he: "In comparison with them we have nothing, absolutely nothing." Yet it does not appear that this insufficiency of means and aids rendered the American explorers less resolute or less successful than their more favored competitors.

By the 7th of September the expedition reached Barlow's Inlet. On the 9th they passed Cape Hotham, and soon entered Lancaster Sound. On the 10th a singular incident occurred; for, as if by a favorable accident, all the squadrons then cruising in the Arctic regions in search of Sir J. Franklin met without concert opposite Griffith's Island,—consisting of the *Resolute*, *Intrepid*, *Assistance*, *Pioneer*, *Lady Franklin*, *Sophia*, *Advance*, and *Rescue*. These squadrons were commanded respectively by Austin, Ommaney, Penny, and De Haven. But they quickly separated to very different destinations.

This incident—the assembling together in that distant and inhospitable realm of vessels from different nations in pursuit of the same benevolent and noble aim, the recovery of the lost—is in itself sublimely beautiful, and marks a grand epoch in the progress of humanity in modern times. Often have the gallant ships of England and the United States met before upon the rolling deep; but those encounters have been for the purpose of hurling carnage and death against each other. Armed men have often arrayed themselves there with implacable fury in their hearts; and the broad bosom of the ocean has been covered with the floating wrecks of splendid vessels, and with the bruised and struggling forms of dying and drowning warriors. The thunder of battle has often resounded in the mighty caverns of the deep, and the flash of artillery has illumed the heavens, and reddened the vast horizon with its lurid and portentous splendor. The combatants have then separated after the awful conflict was ended, exulting in the misery they have inflicted, in the widows and orphans whose hearts they have lacerated, in the fiendish ferocity and malignity which they have exhibited.

But how different and how much nobler were the spirit and purpose of *this* meeting of English and

American seamen! They met in the spirit of charity, generosity, and heroic endurance for the alleviation of the misfortunes of others. A common sentiment of humanity attracted those expeditions to that repulsive spot from far distant countries; and the sight of each other was the signal for the expression of the most friendly sentiments and for the mutual performance of the kindest offices. This event possesses an honorable significance and import, which weaves a wreath of fadeless glory, more noble than the proudest trophies of victorious battle, around the brows of those who were the actors in it; and the fairest and freshest flowerets of that wreath belong to our own gallant seamen, who thus labored to rescue those who were not their brethren, but the children of a foreign, and too frequently a hostile clime, from a most cruel and horrible fate.

## CHAPTER VI.

### WINTER LIFE IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS.

THE American expedition with which Dr. Kane was connected was destined to pass through a full probation of all the extremes of Arctic life, during the long, dark, dreary solitude of a Polar winter. It would be impossible to convey to the reader a more correct idea of the incidents which marked the experience of the subject of this memoir during the winter of 1851 than by quoting an extract from the official narrative of the commander of the expedition, which describes the scenes of which they both acted and experienced a part, with that greater accuracy which personal observation always gives over any statement which may be elaborated by another differently situated:

“On the morning of the 13th Sept. 1850, the wind having moderated sufficiently, we got under way, and, working our way through some streams of ice, arrived in a few hours at Griffith’s Island, under the lee of which we found our consort made fast to the shore, where she had taken shelter in the



gale, her crew having suffered a good deal from the inclemency of the weather. In bringing to, under the lee of the island, she had the misfortune to spring her rudder, so that on joining us it was with much difficulty she could steer. To insure her safety and more rapid progress, she was taken in tow by the *Advance*, when she bore up with a fine breeze from the westward. Off Cape Martyr we left the English squadron under Captain Austin. About ten miles farther to the east, the two vessels under Captain Penny, and that under Sir John Ross, were seen secured near the land. At 8 P.M. we had advanced as far as Cape Hotham. Thence, as far as the increasing darkness of the night enabled us to see, there was nothing to obstruct our progress, except the bay ice. This, with a good breeze, would not have impeded us much; but unfortunately the wind, when it was most required, failed us. The snow, with which the surface of the water was covered, rapidly cemented, and formed a tenacious coat, through which it was impossible with all our appliances to force the vessels. At 8 P.M. they came to a dead stand, some ten miles to the east of Barlow's Inlet.

“The following day the wind hauled to the southward, from which quarter it lasted till the 19th. During this period the young ice was broken, its



edges squeezed up like hummocks, and one floe overrun by another until it all assumed the appearance of heavy ice. The vessels received some heavy nips from it; but they withstood them without injury. Whenever a pool of water made its appearance, every effort was made to reach it, in hopes that it would lead us into Beechey Island, or some other place where the vessels might be placed in security; for the winter set in unusually early, and the severity with which it commenced forbade all hopes of our being able to return this season. I now became anxious to attain a point in the neighborhood from whence, by means of land-parties in the spring, a goodly extent of Wellington Channel might be examined.

“In the mean time, under the influence of the south wind, we were being set up the channel. On the 18th we were above Cape Bowden, the most northern point seen on this shore by Parry. The land on both shores was seen much farther, and trended considerably to the west of north. To account for this drift, the fixed ice of Wellington Channel, which we had observed in passing to the westward, must have been broken up and driven to the southward by the heavy gale of the 12th. On the 19th the wind veered to the north, which gave us a southerly set, forcing us at the same time with

the western shore. This did not last long; for the next day the wind hauled again to the south and blew fresh, bringing the ice in upon us with much pressure. At midnight it broke up all around us, so that we had work to maintain the Advance in a safe position and keep her from being separated from her consort, which was immovably fixed in the centre of a large floe.

"We continued to drift slowly to the N.N.W. until the 22d, when our progress appeared to be arrested by a small low island, which was discovered in that direction, about seven miles distant. A channel of three or four miles in width separated it from Cornwallis Island. This latter island, trending N.W. from our position, terminated abruptly in an elevated cape, to which I have given the name of Manning, after a warm personal friend and ardent supporter of the Expedition. Between Cornwallis Island and some distant high land visible in the north appeared a wide channel leading to the westward. A dark, misty-looking cloud which hung over it (technically termed frost-smoke) was indicative of much open water in that direction. This was the direction in which my instructions, referring to the investigations of the National Observatory concerning the winds and currents of the ocean, directed me to look for open water. Nor was the

open water the only indication that presented itself in confirmation of this theoretical conjecture as to a milder climate in that direction. As we entered Wellington Channel the signs of animal life became more abundant; and Captain Penny, commander of one of the English expeditions, who afterward penetrated on sledges much toward the region of the 'frost-smoke,' much farther than it was possible for us to do in our vessels, reported that he actually arrived on the borders of this open sea.

"Thus, these admirably drawn instructions, deriving arguments from the enlarged and comprehensive system of physical research, not only pointed with emphasis to an unknown sea into which Franklin had probably found his way, but directed me to search for traces of his expedition in the very channel at the entrance of which it is now ascertained he had passed his first winter. The direction in which search with most chances of success is now to be made for the missing expedition, or for traces of it, is no doubt in the direction which is so clearly pointed out in my instructions. To the channel which appeared to lead into the open sea over which the cloud of 'frost-smoke' hung as a sign, I have given the name of Maury, after the distinguished gentleman at the head of our National Observatory, whose theory with regard to an open

sea to the north is likely to be realized through this channel. To the large mass of land visible between N.W. to N.N.E. I gave the name of Grinnell, in honor of the head and heart of the man in whose philanthropic mind originated the idea of this expedition, and to whose munificence it owes its existence.

“To a remarkable peak bearing N.N.E. from us, distant about forty miles, was given the name of Mount Franklin. An inlet or harbor immediately to the north of Cape Bowden was discovered by Mr. Griffin in his land-excursion from Point Innes, on the 27th of August, and has received the name of Griffin Inlet. The small island mentioned before was called Murdaugh’s Island, after the acting master of the Advance. The eastern shore of Wellington Channel appeared to run parallel with the western, but it became quite low, and, being covered with snow, could not be distinguished with certainty, so that its continuity with the high land to the north was not ascertained. Some small pools of open water appearing near us, an attempt was made about fifty yards, but all our combined efforts were of no avail in extricating the Rescue from her icy cradle. A change of wind not only closed the ice up again, but threatened to give a severe nip. We unshipped her rudder and placed it out of harm’s way.



“September 22d was an uncomfortable day. The wind was from N.E. with snow. From an early hour in the morning, the floes began to be pressed together with so much force that their edge was thrown up in immense ridges of rugged hummocks. The Advance was heavily nipped between two floes, and the ice was piled up so high above the rail on the starboard side as to threaten to come on board and sink us with its weight. All hands were occupied in keeping it out. The pressure and commotion did not cease till near midnight, when we were very glad to have a respite from our labors and fears. The next day we were threatened with a similar scene, but it fortunately ceased in a short time. For the remainder of September, and until the 4th of October, the vessels drifted but little. The winds were very light, the thermometer fell to minus 12, and ice formed over the pools in sight sufficiently strong to travel upon. We were now strongly impressed with the belief that the ice had become fixed for the winter, and that we should be able to send out travelling parties from the advanced position for the examination of the lands to the northward. Stimulated by this fair prospect, another attempt was made to reach the shore in order to establish a depôt of provisions at or near Cape Manning, which would materially facilitate the pro-



gress of our parties in the spring; but the ice was still found to be detached from the shore, and a narrow lane of water cut us from it.

“During the interval of comparative quiet, preliminary measures were taken for heating the *Advance* and increasing her quarters so as to accommodate the officers and crews of both vessels. No stoves had as yet been used in either vessel: indeed, they could not well be put up without placing a large quantity of stores and fuel upon the ice. The attempt was made to do this; but a sudden crack in the floe where it appeared strongest, causing the loss of several tons of coal, convinced us that it was not yet safe to do so. It was not until the 20th of October we got fires below. Ten days later the housing-cloth was put over, and the officers and crew of the *Rescue* ordered on board the *Advance* for the winter. Room was found on the deck of the *Rescue* for many of the provisions removed from the hold of this vessel. Still, a large quantity had to be placed on the ice. The absence of fire below had caused much discomfort to all hands ever since the beginning of September, not so much from the low temperature as from the accumulation of moisture by condensation, which congealed as the temperature decreased, and covered the wood-work of our apartments with ice. This state of things soon

began to work its effect upon the health of the crews. Several cases of scurvy appeared among them, and, notwithstanding the indefatigable attention and active treatment resorted to by the medical officers, it could not be eradicated: its progress, however, was checked.

“December 7th, at 8 A.M., the crack in which we were had opened and formed a lane of water fifty-six feet wide, communicating ahead at the distance of sixty feet with ice of about one foot in thickness, which had formed since the 3d. The vessel was secured to the largest floe near us, (that on which our spare stores were deposited.) At noon the ice was again in motion, and began to close, affording us the pleasant prospect of an inevitable nip between two floes of the heaviest kind. In a short time the prominent points took our side, on the starboard, just about the main-rigging, and on the port under the counter and at the fore-rigging; thus bringing three points of pressure in such a position that it must have proved fatal to a larger or less strengthened vessel. The *Advance*, however, stood it bravely. After trembling and groaning in every joint, the ice passed under and raised her about two and a half feet. She was let down again for a moment, and then her stern was raised about five feet. Her bows, being unsupported, were depressed almost as much.

In this uncomfortable position we remained. The wind blew a gale from the eastward, and the ice all around was in dreadful commotion, excepting, fortunately, that in immediate contact with us. The commotion in the ice continued all through the night; and we were in momentary expectation of the destruction of both vessels. The easterly gale had set us some two or three miles to the west. As soon as it was light enough to see on the 9th, it was discovered that the heavy ice on which the Rescue had been imbedded for so long a time was entirely broken up and piled up around her in massive hummocks. On her pumps being sounded, I was gratified to learn that she remained tight, notwithstanding the immense straining and pressure she must have endured.

“During this period of trial, as well as in all former and subsequent ones, I could not avoid being struck with the calmness and decision of the officers, as well as the subordination and good conduct of the men, without an exception. Each one knew the imminence of the peril that surrounded us, and was prepared to abide it with a stout heart. There was no noise, no confusion. I did not detect, even in the moment when the destruction of the vessel seemed inevitable, a single desponding look among the whole crew: on the contrary, each one seemed

resolved to do his whole duty, and every thing went on cheerily and bravely. For my own part, I had become quite an invalid, so much so as to prevent my taking an active part in the duties of the vessel as I had always done, or even from incurring the exposure necessary to proper exercise. However, I felt no apprehensions that the vessel would not be properly taken care of, for I had perfect confidence in one and all by whom I was surrounded. I knew them to be equal to any emergency; but I felt under special obligations to the gallant commander of the Rescue for the efficient aid he rendered me. With the kindest consideration and the most cheerful alacrity, he volunteered to perform the executive duties during the winter and relieve me from every thing that might tend in the least to retard my recovery.

“During the remainder of December the ice remained quiet immediately around us, and breaks were all strongly cemented by new ice. In our neighborhood, however, cracks were daily visible. Our drift to the eastward averaged nearly six miles per day; so that on the last of the month we were at the entrance of the Sound, Cape Osborn bearing north from us.

“As the season advanced, the cases of scurvy became more numerous; yet they were all kept under



control by the unwearied attention and skilful treatment of the medical officers. My thanks are due to them, especially to Passed Assistant Surgeon Kane, the senior medical officer of the expedition. I often had occasion to consult him concerning the hygiene of the crew; and it is in a great measure owing to the advice which he gave and the expedients which he recommended that the expedition was enabled to return without the loss of one man. By the latter end of February the ice had become sufficiently thick to enable us to build a trench around the stern of the *Rescue* sufficiently deep to ascertain the extent of the injury she had received in the gale at Griffith's Island. It was not found to be material: the upper gudgeon alone had been wrenched from the stern-post. It was adjusted, and the rudder repaired in readiness for shipping when it should be required. A new bowsprit was also made for her out of the few spare spars we had left, and every thing made seaworthy in both vessels before the breaking up of the ice.

"In May the noonday began to take effect upon the snow which covered the ice: the surface of the floes became watery, and difficult to walk over. Still, the dissolution was so slow in comparison with the mass to be dissolved, that it must have taken it a long period to become liberated from this cause



alone. More was expected from our southerly drift, which still continued, and must soon carry us into a milder climate and open sea. On the 19th of May the land about Cape Searle was made out, the first that we had seen since passing Cape Walter Bathurst, about the 20th of January. A few days later we were off Cape Walsingham, and on the 27th passed out of the Arctic zone.

“On the 1st of April a hole was cut in some ice that had been forming since our first besetment in September: it was found to have attained the thickness of seven feet two inches. In this month (April) the amelioration of the temperature became quite sensible. All hands were kept at work cutting and sawing the ice around the vessels, in order to allow them to float once more. With the Rescue, they succeeded, after much labor, in attaining this object; but around the stern of the Advance the ice was so thick that our thirteen-feet saw was too short to pass through it; her bows, and sides as far aft as the gangway, were liberated. After making some alteration in the Rescue for the better accommodation of her crew, and fires being lighted on board of her several days previous, to remove the ice and dampness which had accumulated during the winter, both officers and crew were transferred to her on the 24th of April. The stores of this vessel, which

had been taken out, were restored, the housing-cloth taken off, and the vessel made in every respect ready for sea. There was little prospect, however, of our being able to reach the desired element very soon. The nearest water was a narrow lane more than two miles distant. To cut through the ice which intervened would have been next to impossible. Beyond this lane, from the mast-head, nothing but intermediate floes could be seen. It was thought best to wait with patience and allow nature to work for us.

"June 6th, a moderate breeze from S.E. with pleasant weather, thermometer up to 40° at noon, and altogether quite warm and melting day. During the morning a peculiar cracking sound was heard on the floe. I was inclined to impute it to the settling of the snow-drifts as they were acted upon by the sun; but in the afternoon, about five o'clock, the puzzle was solved very lucidly, and to the exceeding satisfaction of all hands. A crack in the floe took place between us and the Rescue, and in a few minutes thereafter the whole immense field in which we had been imbedded for so many months was rent in all directions, leaving not a piece of one hundred yards in diameter. The rupture was not accompanied with any noise. The Rescue was entirely liberated, the Advance only partially. The ice, in which her after-part was imbedded, still adhered to

her from the main-chains aft, keeping her stern elevated in its unsightly position. The pack (as it may now be called) became quite loose, and, but for our pertinacious friend acting as an immense drag upon us, we might have made some headway in any desired direction. All our efforts were now turned to getting rid of it. With saws, axes, and crowbars, the people went to work with a right good will, and after hard labor for forty-eight hours succeeded. The vessel was again afloat, and she righted. The joy of all hands vented itself spontaneously in three hearty cheers. The after-part of the false keel was gone, being carried away by the ice. The loss of it, however, I was glad to perceive, did not materially affect the sailing or working qualities of the vessel. The rudders were shipped, and we were once more ready to move, as efficient as on the day we left New York.

“Steering to the S.E. and working slowly through the loose but heavy pack, on the 9th we parted from the Rescue in a dense fog, she taking a different lead from the one the Advance was pursuing.”

The sudden resolution which had been adopted by the commander of the expedition on the 13th of the preceding September, to desert the exploring British squadrons and return to the United States *re infecta*, filled the crews of both of his vessels with

astonishment. Says Dr. Kane: "I believe there was but one feeling among the officers of our little squadron, that of unmitigated regret that we were no longer to co-operate with our gallant associates under the sister flag."\* The expedition had in reality accomplished nothing; and it was the consciousness of this fact which probably at that very moment suggested to the energetic and resolute mind of Dr. Kane the desirableness and necessity of subsequently organizing another expedition, which would thoroughly explore those remoter *arcana* of the Arctic regions, which might be accessible to a heroism and perseverance which were more indomitable and self-sacrificing, and were more adequate to the exigencies of the occasion.

On the 10th of May, aided by a propitious breeze from the north, the squadron forced its way into a clear and open sea, in latitude  $65^{\circ} 30'$ , thirty miles distant from the position in which it was eventually liberated from the embarrassment and perils of the ice. On the 1st of July the vessels made the Danish settlement of Pröven. On the 8th they reached Upernavik. They left Holsteinberg on the 6th of September, and on the 30th the Advance entered the welcome port of New York; though

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\* See United States Grinnell Expedition, &c., by Dr. E. K. Kane, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, p. 186.



the Rescue, having been separated from her consort in a gale to the southward of Cape Farewell, did not reach the termination of the voyage until the 7th of October, 1851.

Dr. Kane concluded his narrative of the "First Grinnell Expedition" with expressing the hope that he might obtain another opportunity to establish the justice of his conviction, founded upon many intelligent and conclusive reasons, that Sir John Franklin could yet be found by further explorations and researches. This expectation was destined to be realized, as the renowned annals of the "Second Grinnell Expedition" have since amply demonstrated.

Dr. Kane's chief employment, after his return from his first Arctic expedition, was the preparation of a record of his adventures for the press. This work was published in handsome style by the Harpers; and although it is denominated by him merely a "Personal Narrative," it is also interspersed and enriched with many valuable details of a descriptive and scientific character. It is a production of great ability; superior, indeed, in a literary point of view, to the narrative of his second expedition, because the subject was then fresher, his own powers were less exhausted, and his leisure to make researches during the cruise was more ample, than when the chief care and responsibility of an expedition rested



upon him. His first work is probably the most "systematic" and the most important which has yet appeared in reference to Arctic exploration and discovery. It evinces extensive and accurate scientific attainments, vigilant and intelligent observation, unwearied industry, intense interest in the various aspects of the subject under examination; while at the same time the style is polished, correct, and attractive. This work will always remain the most enduring and the most honorable memorial of Dr. Kane's literary ability. The second narrative will more clearly illustrate his merits as a practical explorer and adventurer; and is the record of important *results* actually accomplished in furtherance of the legitimate purposes of the expedition.

## CHAPTER VII.

### DR. KANE'S MATRIMONIAL VIEWS—HIS CONGRESSIONAL PATRONAGE—HIS UNCONQUERABLE ENTHUSIASM.

THIS is no inappropriate place to introduce a pleasing episode in the life of this resolute and daring adventurer, which possesses a gentler aspect and a more tender interest than that exhibited by the other events of his life. It was not to be expected that Dr. Kane, notwithstanding his constant bodily ailments and the absorbing nature of his enterprises, should be insensible to the charms of female beauty or intelligence. In this matter, as in all others, he was quite original; and for a time at least he acted quite independently. When the ladies of the Fox family, the celebrated pioneers in "*Spiritualism*" in the United States, visited Philadelphia for the first time, Dr. Kane was led by curiosity to attend an exhibition of their powers. Margaret Fox was the youngest of the three sisters; and her rare and singular beauty at once attracted the attention of Dr. Kane, and made a very deep impression upon his mind. This young lady is described

as being of medium stature, with regular features, with large, expressive black eyes, and black hair, the general effect of which was in a high degree pleasing and attractive. Having made the acquaintance of the possessor of such potent charms, Dr. Kane found her disposition to be amiable, her manners graceful, and her good sense pre-eminent. The more intimate he grew with Margaret Fox the more he became attached to her; nor did the inferiority of her birth, the deficiencies of her education, nor the repulsive notoriety to which her profession as a *medium* had subjected her, diminish his admiration for her in the least.

With his usual discernment and generosity, Dr. Kane resolved to remedy the partial want of mental culture which this fair girl exhibited, by sending her to school, at his own expense. He took a great interest in her improvement, consulted her teachers in reference to her progress, and himself scrutinized her studies and her attainments. It was generally understood that when her education was completed her benefactor and admirer intended to become her husband. Thus matters stood when Dr. Kane sailed on his first Arctic expedition. It is evident that at that time Margaret Fox occupied a large share of his thoughts, and that an absence of more than a year had not destroyed, or even diminished, his

tender sentiments toward her. And it would also appear that the young lady was not unworthy of the distinguished alliance which she anticipated; and that she appreciated the admirable qualities of her lover and her obligations to him. It is probable that had they been united they would have had no reason to regret it. Nevertheless, such a result was not destined to occur. The causes which eventually dissolved the intimacy between them are not known with certainty. People do not proclaim these things from the house-top through a trumpet. But the ill health of Dr. Kane, the absorbing interest which he took in accomplishing a second journey to the Arctic regions, the engrossing literary labor necessary to prepare the narrative of his first expedition for the press, and the uncertainty of his future fate, are most probably the reasons why his marriage with the amiable and beautiful seeress was never consummated.

The interval which occurred between Dr. Kane's return from his first Arctic journey and his second, was an active one, although during the summer of 1853 his health became more than usually feeble. He was then overworking himself in writing the narrative of his first journey, and in endeavoring to obtain the necessary permission and means for his second. A portion of the time was spent in lec-



turing in the Northern and Eastern cities on the subject of Arctic Exploration. The purpose of these lectures was to obtain funds for his future movements. He was also employed in discussing with the writers of the British Admiralty the priority of the claim of De Haven to the discovery of the Grinnell Land, which Captain Austin was supposed to have first discovered, and which had been named by him "Albert Land." At the request of the Secretary of the Navy, Dr. Kane prepared a labored argument in support of the priority of discovery on the part of De Haven, in which he clearly establishes the fact that the American officer had first seen the same projection of land which the British commander afterward detected. This argument was inserted by Dr. Kane in his published narrative of his first expedition, and forms a valuable addition to that excellent work.\*

As time advanced and as difficulties increased, the whole soul of Dr. Kane became centred on his second expedition. He desired to obtain an appropriation from Congress, but after considerable effort he found the obstacles to be insurmountable. He

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\* See The United States Grinnell Expedition: A Personal Narrative, by E. K. Kane, M.D., U.S.N.: New York, Harper & Brothers, p. 200, *et seq.*

stated at length his plans, his resources, and the extent of what was yet requisite and indispensable, to John P. Kennedy, at that time Secretary of the Navy, and succeeded in obtaining his approbation and assistance. Additional help was derived from different sources; from Mr. Grinnell, Mr. Peabody, the Smithsonian Institute, and others.\* The doctor was placed on special duty by Mr. Kennedy, in the Navy Department; so that his projected voyage secured the advantages which would result from an official Government connection. Of the crew which subsequently sailed with him, ten were thus obtained from the naval service. His greatest toils and his severest disappointments, during this anxious and laborious interval, were connected with his efforts to obtain an appropriation from Congress. The distinguished representatives of the nation listened to his glowing appeals and his unanswerable arguments in reference to the importance, value, feasibility, and glory of the proposed expedition, whereby, as he confidently anticipated, the lost navigators would be found, and the whole civilized world would ring with acclamations and plaudits of Ame-

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\* See Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, in 1853, '54, '55, by E. K. Kane, M.D., U.S.N., vol. i. pp. 15, 16.

rican heroism, valor, and philanthropy, which alone had been able to deliver the lost navigators from their icy prison: they listened, promised assistance, turned away, and forgot all about it. The truth probably was, that Dr. Kane would not and did not deceive, bribe, feed, and liquor extensively enough to engage the serious co-operation of the mercenary and sensual legislators of the people; and therefore all his exertions in that quarter ended in total failure. The only result of his efforts at the seat of the Federal Government was the acquisition of several thousand dollars' worth of materials for outfit from the Medical Bureau at Washington. Nor can any intelligent observer fail to appreciate the moral, as well as the historical and personal, grandeur which characterized the great object of Dr. Kane's intense efforts,—the rescue of Sir John Franklin. Ten years had elapsed since the last recorded date of his destiny was known until the commencement of Dr. Kane's second expedition; and yet he never doubted for a moment that even *then* some of that lost company still survived. He based this conviction on the fact that the expedition of Franklin had been amply provided with every possible convenience and means of support; that animal life can always be sustained in the Arctic clime to some extent by animal food procured by hunting; that the utmost

extremes of cold need not destroy human existence with the protection and succor which art and skilful seamanship could afford ; and that Sir John Franklin was himself one of the ablest, most sagacious, and most experienced of all the navigators who had ever invaded the Arctic seas. In view of these considerations, Dr. Kane was enthusiastic on the subject of his possible rescue ; and even in his dreams, and often in his waking hours, he seemed to hear the feeble and melancholy moans of the imprisoned and ice-bound wanderers, appealing to him, from far across the frozen wastes, to hasten to their rescue while life yet lingered within their shivering and emaciated frames. Urged on by such inducements, with which there was also confessedly mingled that honorable ambition for distinction and eminence which burns within every noble breast, and is one of the chief mainsprings of whatever achievements have ever promoted the glory and felicity of our race, Dr. Kane completed all his arrangements, and prepared to enter upon his second and last Arctic expedition.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### DR. KANE'S SECOND ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

DR. KANE received the official order from the Secretary of the Navy to conduct his second Arctic expedition, in December, 1852. During several months previous to this event he had been actively engaged in planning a scheme and in elaborating details which might be successfully carried out in the further and more thorough exploration of the Polar zone. He condensed the results of his researches in an able lecture, which he delivered before the American Geographical and Statistical Society on the 14th of December, 1852, upon the "*Access to an Open Polar Sea in Connection with the Search after Sir John Franklin and his Companions.*" This production is one of marked ability. It displays great learning, research, and acuteness, and evinces an unusual degree of familiarity with geographical and meteorological science, with natural history and philosophy. He assumed the position that there was probably an unexplored extension of the land-masses of Greenland toward the extreme north;

that Greenland was not a collection of islands connected together by interior glaciers, as was generally supposed, but a great peninsula stretching northward, whose formation was governed by the same laws which moulded other peninsulas having a southern inclination and direction; and that upon the remoter outskirts of that peninsula the traces of the remains of the lost navigators were still most probably to be found.

Dr. Kane based these conclusions upon the following satisfactory premises. The alternating altitudes of the mountain-ranges of Greenland through an extent of eleven hundred miles proved that Greenland must approach nearer to the Pole than any other portion of the earth. This would enable the explorer to travel on *terra firma* northward instead of adventuring over the constant fields of frozen sea. The fan-like abutment of land already known to exist on the north face of Greenland would check the ice in the progress of its southern drift; thus furnishing greater facilities for advancing toward the Pole than was afforded by the Spitzbergen Sea, as attempted by Parry. This route would also furnish some additional means of subsistence from animal life, and some aid and co-operation from the Esquimaux, who dwelt along the coast as far north as Whale Sound.

The rules which Dr. Kane adopted for the control of the expedition were comprehensive and peculiar. They required absolute subordination to the commander or his delegate, abstinence from the use of intoxicating drinks, and the habitual disuse of profane language. The vessel placed under his control was the *Advance*, in which he had sailed on the previous expedition, and which was furnished by the Government, and by the munificence of private friends, with the necessary equipments. His crew consisted of seventeen persons. Henry Brooks was the first officer, Dr. Isaac I. Hayes the surgeon, Augustus Sontag the astronomer. The men of chief mark among the crew were William Morton, Amos Bonsall, Christian Ohlsen, and James McGary.

Having made all the necessary preparations, Dr. Kane sailed from the port of New York on the 30th of May, 1853. In eighteen days he reached Newfoundland, and thence he boldly steered his adventurous craft for the coast of Greenland. On the 1st of July he entered the obscure harbor of Fiskernaes, where he and his officers became the guests of Mr. Lassen, the Danish governor. Here he procured a large supply of fresh provisions, and added an Esquimaux, named Hans, to the number of his crew.

Sailing along the rugged coast of Lower and

Middle Greenland, our explorer reached Wilcox Point, in the extremity of Melville Bay, on the 27th of July. He navigated safely through the floating and drifting ice which, even in the middle of summer, already encumbered that bay; and passed the Crimson Cliffs, thus fitly named by Sir John Ross, on the 5th of August. On the 7th, leaving Cape Alexander behind him, he entered Smith's Sound. In pursuing his northward journey he made Force Bay and Grinnell Cape. When off Godsend Ledge a furious tempest arose, which shook the icy masses and rolling mountains of that zone to their centre, and lashed the half-frozen sea into tumultuous fury. The Advance had been prudently attached to an immense berg by three hawsers; and, all things being made snug on board the little brig, it was hoped that she would safely outride the gale. But so prodigious was the violence of the storm that the six-inch hawser in a short time snapped with a loud twanging sound, which rose even above the roaring of the wind. Soon a second report of a similar nature followed, and the whale-line parted. A ten-inch manilla yet remained, which seemed to be their only protector against certain destruction. For a time it struggled nobly against the tremendous strain. The crew could hear its deep melodious chant renewed from time to time as it



resisted the mighty pressure, and held the vessel with the grasp of an Atlas firmly to her icy moorings. In vain the whole power of Eôlus seemed to have been let loose from his resounding caverns in order to overcome the strength of the line. But the angry wind-god was destined at length to conquer. At first a single strand gave way, with a loud report. Then followed a second, and a third; until at last the line parted entirely, and the brig drifted away, almost with the velocity of lightning, with the rushing and tumultuous current of the ice-covered deep. The utmost skill was necessary to save the vessel from instant ruin; and never was better seamanship displayed than by that little crew and their gallant commander in that great peril. Their efforts were successful. After passing safely through many close shaves,—so close indeed that sometimes it was necessary to take in the quarter-boat from its davits,—they reached a secure position under the lee of a lofty berg, in an open and tranquil lead, protected by its towering and colossal mass.

On the 23d of August Dr. Kane had reached 78° 41'; and in this position he was farther north than any of his predecessors had been, except Captain Parry on his celebrated Spitzbergen foot-journey. His progress was now much impeded by the ice, which was becoming more and more consolidated;

and this difficulty led some of the boldest men of the expedition to question the propriety of advancing farther north until the ensuing spring, and led them to think that the brig should be immediately put into winter quarters in the position which she then occupied. Dr. Kane at once called a formal council and listened to their views. He then informed them that it was his purpose to secure a position, if possible, which would be more favorable for the sledge-journeys which he intended to send out in different directions from the brig; and that as soon as that position was attained he would put the brig into winter quarters. The crew at once acquiesced in the determination of the commander, and proceeded to carry out his plan of operation.

The first sledge-journey in which the men of the expedition engaged was made in the "Forlorn Hope," for the purpose of exploring the adjacent coast and ascertaining the best position for wintering. After laboriously travelling for five days they were forty miles in a direct line from the brig; although their circuitous route had been much longer: yet, after a careful examination of every accessible point, Dr. Kane came to the conclusion that none of them offered as great advantages for the purpose of wintering as the bay in which he had left the *Advance*. He accordingly returned to

the brig and announced to the crew his determination not to remove the vessel. She was destined never again to leave that spot; and there she probably remains to this day, buried among the accumulating and consolidated ice of that far-distant and inhospitable zone.

Dr. Kane at once set his crew to work to prepare the vessel for the winter, which was rapidly approaching. On the 10th of September the ice around her had become so thick that it bore the pressure of the men. The contents of the hold were removed and deposited in the storehouse on Butler Island. The provisions were so disposed of as to render them more enduring and better preserved. A deck-house was constructed upon the vessel, which increased her accommodations. The site for an observatory was selected, and a commencement made for its construction. This was placed on a rocky inlet situated about a hundred yards from the brig. Dr. Kane named it Fern Rock; and it was the scene of many of his laborious scientific researches and experiments. Four walls of granite blocks were erected, cemented together by moss and water which became frozen. Over these walls a substantial wooden roof was laid. On pedestals made of conglomerated gravel and ice, which were perfectly free from all vibra-

tion, the transit and theodolite were placed. A magnetic observatory was built near at hand. It was also constructed of stone, was ten feet square, was furnished with a wooden floor and roof; and here were collected the magnetometer and dip-instruments. The meteorological observatory was situated a hundred and forty yards from the brig, on the open ice-field. It was a wooden structure, latticed and pierced with auger-holes on all sides. The thermometers were here suspended. By the 20th of September all the preparations for winter had been completed; and without any loss of time Dr. Kane sent forth his first dépôt-party, for the purpose of depositing provisions at a suitable place northward, to be used in his subsequent expeditions of research and exploration. This company consisted of seven men, led by McGary and Bonsall.



## CHAPTER IX.

### RESEARCHES AND ADVENTURES NEAR THE POLE.

THE first depôt-party sent out by Dr. Kane had been absent twenty days, when he thought it proper, and even necessary, to go in search of them, apprehending that they might have met some serious accident. He did so, accompanied by a single person, travelling on a sledge drawn by Newfoundland dogs. During the progress of this trip he was once precipitated with the dogs and sledge into the water, having failed to cross a chasm in the ice of more than usual width. Dr. Kane succeeded by great exertions in rescuing his dogs and his companion from a watery grave; but the danger of death to all of them was imminent. The party made twenty miles a day, sleeping at night on the solid ice-fields. At length, on the 15th, Dr. Kane perceived in the distance a mysterious object moving slowly on the ice. It eventually proved to be the returning depôt-party. They had been absent from the brig twenty-eight days, had averaged eighteen miles of travel per day, and had constructed the depôts of provi-

sions in accordance with the orders which they had received before starting. During their journey the party had met with some singular adventures. On one occasion, at midnight, while encamped on the frozen ice-field, the ice suddenly cracked directly beneath them; a large fissure opened; the ice around them gradually broke into fragments; and it was only by rapidly taking possession of one of the largest pieces and rowing with it to the main ice that they escaped destruction. They ultimately reached latitude  $79^{\circ} 50'$ . During their progress they buried eight hundred pounds of provisions, for the future use of the expedition. They then returned to the brig.

The rigors of an Arctic winter now increased around them. It required the utmost prudence on the part of the adventurers to enable them to endure the intense cold. - Notwithstanding all this, Dr. Kane continued his astronomical and scientific experiments in his observatories; and their results were afterward appended to the published journal of the expedition. Sometimes the thermometer stood at seventy-five degrees below zero in the external air. At this prodigiously cold temperature chloric ether became solid, and chloroform displayed a granular pellicle on its surface. Human nature could scarcely endure a greater intensity of cold than this.

Unbroken darkness now prevailed throughout the

day and night. The first glimpses of returning light were not seen until the 21st of January. The period for active labors again approached. On the 19th of March, all the necessary preparations having been completed, the first sledge-party was sent out to prepare the way for future explorations. They had been absent for some days, pursuing their perilous journey northward, when suddenly Dr. Kane, who remained in the vessel, was surprised by the return of a portion of the party; who, nearly overcome by the intense cold, had left their comrades in a perilous condition forty miles distant from the brig, lying almost frozen to death upon the ice. There was not a moment to be lost. Dr. Kane immediately went to work to collect the means of immediate relief, and started out in search of the wanderers with a party of nine men. The thermometer stood at seventy-eight degrees below the freezing-point. The prodigious intensity of the cold overcame with trembling fits and with shortness of breath the strongest and stoutest of the party. For eighteen hours they travelled without water or food. The least application of snow to the mouth instantly produced a flow of blood, as if it had been touched by caustic. After a continuous march of twenty-one hours, the relief-party reached the tent of the four absent men. They were found lying on their

backs upon the ice within it, in complete darkness, and calmly awaiting the approach of relief or death. After a short delay the return-march to the brig was commenced. The disabled men were carried on a sledge. During six hours the men pulled away vigorously. At length the cold gradually overcame them, and they halted. They were all so weakened and benumbed as to be unable to strike a fire. The whiskey froze in its can as hard as granite. That dreamy lethargic state which is always a fearful precursor of approaching death gradually began to steal over them. They all wished to stop and be permitted to sleep. Had they then slept, they had assuredly known no waking. Not all the ominous knocking which resounded through the halls of the aspiring Macbeth while the royal Duncan lay murdered upon his couch,

“His silver skin laced with his golden blood,”

could have aroused them to life again. Dr. Kane therefore gave peremptory orders to proceed. Manfully they labored to obey; and the commander himself led the way, with the intention of reaching the half-way tent and preparing it for the reception of the party. He was there able to melt water and prepare some soup for them on their arrival. Dr. Kane's beard on this occasion was frozen fast to his



buffalo-skin, and could only be released by cutting it. At last, after a perilous march of many hours, the whole party reached the brig alive; but some of the men had become delirious, some suffered from strabismus and blindness, two were afterward compelled to undergo amputation of the toes, and two others eventually died, in consequence of their terrible exposure. Very few adventures connected with the whole range of Arctic exploration surpass the experiences of this remarkable expedition; or exhibit a greater power of physical endurance or mental strength than were displayed by Dr. Kane and some of his associates.

On the 25th of April another sledge-journey was undertaken. The short season of travel in that frozen zone would soon be terminated; and it was necessary to make good use of the transient interval that remained. This journey was intended to reach the extreme limits of the shore of Greenland, and to explore, if possible, the mysteries which lay beyond the termination of the *terra firma*. The line of travel pursued was in accordance with this purpose. In the progress of this expedition Dr. Kane, among other interesting observations, discovered the Great Humboldt Glacier. This proved to be one of the most magnificent and sublime objects in nature. It presents a shining wall of ice three hundred feet in

height, frowning over the frozen sea below, and extends its immense masses along an unbroken front of sixty miles. It is the great crystal bridge which has for ages connected together the two continents of America and Greenland, and it recedes to the interior from the sea through unknown and unmeasured limits. Vast crevasses appeared in the sides of the glacier like mere wrinkles. These grew larger as they descended to the sea, where they expanded into gigantic stairways. The appearance of this stupendous wonder of nature resembled in some respects the frozen masses of the Alps, and reminded the bold adventurer of many scenes which he had witnessed in the mountains of Switzerland. The configuration of the surface and form of this glacier clearly indicate that its inequalities closely follow those of the rocky soil on which it reposes.

On the 4th of June another party was sent out by Dr. Kane, for the purpose of further exploration. It was placed under the command of William Morton; and it had been fortunate for Dr. Kane had he accompanied it, inasmuch as it resulted in an extraordinary discovery, which possesses unequalled importance and interest. His recent exposure and exhausting labors with the previous party, however, rendered it necessary that the commander should recruit himself by remaining with the brig.

On the 19th of June, having encamped, Morton ascended a lofty berg, in order to examine their future route and survey the surrounding desolation. From this point he beheld an extensive plain which stretched away toward the north, which proved to be the Great Glacier of Humboldt, as it appeared toward the interior, which also fronted on the bay. From this point the advance of the party was perilous. They were frequently arrested by wide and deep fissures in the ice. This difficulty compelled them to turn toward the west. Some of these chasms were four feet wide and contained water at the bottom. From this point they beheld the distant northern shore, termed the "West Land." Its appearance was mountainous and rolling. Its distance from them seemed to be about sixty miles.

At length, by the 21st of June, the party attained a point opposite the termination of the Great Glacier. It appeared to be mixed with earth and rocks. Travelling on, they reached the head of Kennedy Channel, and saw far beyond it the open water. Passing in their route a cape, they called it Cape Andrew Jackson. Here they found good smooth ice; for during the last few days they had toiled over rotten ice, which not unfrequently threatened to break beneath them. Having entered the curve of a bay, they named it after Robert Morris, the

great financier of the Revolution.\* On the smooth ice in this vicinity the party advanced at the rate of six miles per hour.

Kennedy Channel here grew narrower, but afterward it widened again. Broken ice in large masses was floating in it; but there were passages fifteen miles in width, which remained perfectly clear. Six miles inward from the channel, mountains rose to the view. On the 22d of June they encamped, after having travelled forty-eight miles in a direct line. They were still upon the shores of the channel. They could plainly see the opposite coast, which appeared precipitous and surmounted with sugar-loaf shaped mountains. At this part of their journey they encountered a Polar bear, with her cub. A desperate fight ensued, in which the singular instincts of nature were strikingly illustrated by the desperate efforts made by the poor brute to protect her helpless offspring. Both were slain. A shallow bay covered with ice was then crossed. They passed several islands which lay in the channel, which they named after Sir John Franklin and Captain Crozier. The cliffs which here constituted the shore of the channel were very high, towering at least two thousand feet above its surface. The party attempted to

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\* An intimate friend of one of the ancestors of Dr. Kane: *vide* chapter first, of this volume.



ascend these cliffs, but found it impossible to mount more than a few hundred feet. On the highest point which they attained a walking-pole was fastened, with the Grinnell flag of the *Antarctic* attached to it; and thus for an hour and a half this standard was permitted to wave over the highest northern region of the earth ever attained by the foot of man.

They here encountered a cape; and the party desired to pass around it, in order to ascertain whether there lay any unknown land beyond. But they found it impossible to advance. This, then, was the utmost limit, the *ultima thule* of their journey toward the Pole. Morton ascended an eminence here and carefully scrutinized the aspects of nature around him. Six degrees toward the west of north he observed a lofty peak, truncated in its form and about three thousand feet in height. This elevation is named Mount Edward Parry, after the great pioneer of Arctic adventure, and is the most extreme northern point of land known to exist upon the globe. From the position which Morton had attained, he beheld toward the north, from an elevation of four hundred feet, a boundless waste of waters stretching away toward the Pole. Not a particle of ice encumbered its surface. He now heard the multitudinous murmur of unfrozen waves, and beheld a rolling surf, like that of more genial climes, rushing

and dashing against the rocks upon the shore. This was certainly a mysterious phenomenon. Here was a fluid sea in the midst of whole continents of ice; and that sea seemed to lave the Pole itself. The eye of the explorer surveyed at least forty miles of uninterrupted water in a northern direction. The point thus reached in this exploring expedition was about five hundred miles distant from the Pole. Had the party been able to convey thither a boat, they might have embarked upon the bright and placid waters of that lonely ocean. But, having been able to make this journey only with the sledge, further explorations were of course impossible. The most remarkable development connected with this discovery was that the temperature was here found to be much more moderate than that farther south. Marine birds sailed through the heavens. Rippling waves followed each other on the surface of the deep. A few stunted flowers grew over the barren and rocky coast. The inference which may be drawn from these and other facts is, that this open sea, termed the Polar Basin, stretches to the Pole itself; or at least continues a great distance until its course is interrupted by other projections of the *terra firma*. These are mysterious inquiries, still the great *desiderata* of Arctic travel; which will remain unanswered until some more successful adventurer, gifted with

greater physical endurance, and furnished with more abundant facilities than any of his predecessors, shall persist in defiance of every impediment in advancing until he boldly plants his foot upon the mysterious spot now termed the North Pole, and then succeeds in making his escape.

The several parties which had been sent forth by Dr. Kane to explore the regions just described having returned, the season of Arctic travel was nearly terminated, and the members of the expedition were about to relapse again into winter quarters, with their usual darkness, monotony, and gloom. But, before resigning themselves entirely to this unwelcome seclusion, Dr. Kane resolved to make an effort to reach Beechey Island. At this point Sir Edward Belcher's squadron was then supposed to be stationed; and from them the American explorers might obtain both provisions and information. Accordingly, Dr. Kane manned his boat, called the "Forlorn Hope," which was twenty-three feet long and six feet and a half beam. The necessary amount of provisions was placed on board, and the bold venture was undertaken. Sometimes the boat was navigated through the unfrozen channels of water which intervened between the floes of ice; at other times she was placed on a large sledge called the "Faith," and thus transported over the frozen wastes.

This party approached Littleton Island, which had been visited by Captain Inglefield. They here obtained a vast quantity of eider-ducks. They then passed Flagstaff Point and Combermere Cape. Then came Cape Isabella and Cape Frederick VII. On the 23d of July they reached Hakluyt Island; and thence they steered for the Cary Islands. But on the 31st of July, when they had reached a point but ten miles distant from Cape Parry, their further progress was absolutely stopped. A solid mass of ice lay before them on the sea, extending as far as the eye could reach. This barrier was composed of the vast seas of ice which had drifted through Jones' Sound on the west and those of Murchison's on the east. The adventurers were now compelled to retrace their way. About the 1st of August they regained the brig, without having met with any accident, but also without having succeeded in attaining the object of their excursion. They found the "Advance" just as tightly wedged into the ice as she had been during the preceding eleven months, with no hope of getting her speedily released.\*

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\* See the "Arctic Explorations and Discoveries in the Nineteenth Century," by Samuel M. Smucker, published by Miller, Orton & Co., New York, 1856, page 486.



## CHAPTER X.

### CONCLUDING LABORS AND RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION.

ON the 24th of August an important crisis occurred in the history of the expedition. The period had arrived when it became necessary to determine whether the officers and crew would attempt an immediate escape from the Polar regions, or whether they would venture to remain in their icy exile during another winter. The latter alternative was by no means inviting; and when the commander summoned all hands to a general consultation, he stated at length the considerations which had induced him to resolve upon remaining. He showed them how an attempt to escape by the open water would be both dangerous and unsuccessful; yet at the same time he gave his permission to all who might wish to make the experiment. The roll was called, and each man was allowed to answer for himself. Eight out of seventeen decided to remain by the brig, which was still immovably frozen in the ice. To those who expressed a desire to return immediately, Dr. Kane allotted their due proportion of provisions,

and other conveniences; and he also gave them (what they did not deserve) a written assurance that, should they be driven back by their trials and dangers, they would receive a hearty welcome. They started forth from the brig on the 28th; but long before the remaining members of the expedition concluded their labors, in the succeeding December, they all returned again to the vessel.

Those who remained began immediately to prepare for the rigors of the approaching winter. By the 21st of October the light of the sun no more illumined with its feeble rays that frozen realm; and they resigned themselves to the cheerless darkness of an Arctic night, and to the confined precincts of their gloomy cabin. Thus November, December, January, February gloomily wore away: Christmas and New Year were celebrated a second time by these gallant heroes, with the thermometer fifty degrees below zero, with the best means which they could command, which were indeed limited.

Our limits prevent us from describing with any minuteness many of the incidents which characterized, and sometimes enlivened or saddened, the life of Dr. Kane, during the leaden progress of this third and last winter which he was destined to spend in the Arctic regions. An occasional excursion from the brig in search of food, a fight with a bear, an

attack upon a walrus, or the capture of a seal, constituted the chief external incidents of his exile. The majority of the men became afflicted with disease; some were confined to their berths with lameness; stiff joints, sore gums, purpuric blotches, severe scurvy, swelled limbs, and frozen feet, were the particular afflictions to which they were subjected. This state of things continued until the beginning of April; and during the long intervening interval the chief labor of Dr. Kane was devoted to the preservation of his life and that of his associates. With the approach of spring their attention was naturally directed to their preparations for escape and their return to the confines of civilization. Daylight slowly began to dawn. One of the most exciting incidents of this period was the recapture of the deserter Godfrey. He had left the brig and wandered to the small Esquimaux settlement termed Etah, on Hartstene Bay, eighty miles distant. With his usual determination, Dr. Kane made the journey thither with a dog-sledge, and on his arrival boldly approached, arrested, and mastered the offender, and compelled him to return with him to the vessel. This act, as much as some of the daring and notorious incidents of his youth and early manhood, evinced the unusual intrepidity of his character.

Before commencing his return to the United States

Dr. Kane resolved to undertake one more expedition for the purpose of exploring the farther shores beyond Kennedy Channel. This purpose was only to be accomplished by sledges drawn by dogs; and these were now obtained from the Esquimaux who dwelt at Etah. After journeying for fifty miles in this direction, the obstacles presented by the perils and irregularities of the ice were found to be insurmountable; and the party returned to the brig, after making the entire circuit of Dallas Bay, and of the islands which group themselves between Advance Bay and the base of the Great Humboldt Glacier.

And now the preparations for their return were resumed. The manufacture of clothing was a prominent part of this work. Boots made of carpeting, with soles of walrus-hide, body-clothing made out of blankets, sleeping-sacks constructed from buffalo robes, provision-bags rendered water-tight by tar and pitch,—these constituted a portion of the labor of the men. The ship-bread was pounded into powder and pressed into bags. Pork-fat was melted down, and then poured into other bags, in order to be frozen. Bean-soup was cooked and moulded in the same manner. The largest of the three boats which the party were to use in their return, was twenty-six feet long and seven feet beam. Each boat carried but one mast. The names



of these three craft were, the Red Eric, the Hope, and the Faith; and they were mounted on sledges, for the purpose of being conveyed over the ice where navigation was impossible. The 17th of May was the day appointed for the commencement of their return and for their desertion of the ice-bound and immovable brig. When the designated time arrived, every preparation had been completed which the circumstances of the case permitted. It was Sunday. The entire ship's company were summoned into the cabin. The commander read prayers and a chapter of the Bible. He then addressed the party, explaining the difficulties and duties which were before them; at the same time assuring them that he believed they might all be overcome by energy and subordination. He reminded them of the perils through which they had already passed, and urged them to rely upon that great unseen Power which had thus far protected and sustained them.

The members of the expedition, after the conclusion of Dr. Kane's remarks, immediately drew up a paper, in which they stated their conviction of the impossibility of removing the brig from her solid bed of ice; the peril of their attempting to remain a third winter in the Polar regions; and promising unqualified obedience to his commands, and special attention to their sick comrades.

When all were ready to start they went upon deck; the flags were hoisted and hauled down again; the men walked several times around the vessel, taking a last long look at her hardened and battered timbers; and then all hands scrambled off over the hummocks toward the boats, which, at a short distance from the brig, had already been loaded, and prepared for the journey. Four of the men were invalids, and were conveyed in the boats by their comrades. Dr. Kane drove the dog-team with which he proposed to return to the vessel during the first few days of their journey for additional supplies of food. The men were divided into parties and appropriated to the service of the several boats. The command of the boats and sledges was given to the first officer of the expedition, Mr. Brooks. The men drew their loads by rue-raddies, which were wide straps which passed over one shoulder and under the opposite arm, and were connected by long ropes to the boats.

The first stage at which the party halted was a spot known by the romantic epithet of "Anoatok," which, being interpreted, means the "wind-loved spot." It was marked by a single dilapidated stone hut which had formerly been erected by the nomadic Esquimaux. After leaving the brig their progress was at first little more than a mile a day, in con-

sequence of the enfeebled condition of the men. The sick were then so drawn up by scurvy as to be unable to move; and the temporary refuge which they found at Anoatok doubtless saved their lives. During the rest and delay of the party at this spot Dr. Kane made several journeys with his dog-sledge to the deserted brig in Rensselaer Bay. By this means he conveyed many hundred pounds of pemmican to that retreat, thereby lessening the load which was to be drawn in the boats. His last visit to the Advance, with which so many bright and so many sad associations were connected in his mind, was made on the 28th of May. He was compelled to abandon some of his scientific collections and some of his philosophical instruments, which he had hoped to be able to carry away with him; and, having concluded all his arrangements, he loaded his sledge, bade a last farewell to the old storm-beaten craft, and left her with a sigh in the icy bed where to this day she reposes in an embrace stronger than that of the Titans of old.

From Anoatok the journey was resumed toward the south; and it proved to be a most perilous and laborious one. Their route lay over broad tide-holes, deep snow, broken ice, and treacherous water, and the dangers of the journey were so great that they cost the life of one of the best and ablest

members of the expedition. In crossing a tide-hole one of the runners of the sledge of the "Hope" broke through, and the boat would have gone under and its contents lost had it not been for the prompt exertions of Christian Ohlsen. By a sudden and violent effort he passed a capstan-bar under the sledge, and thus saved it until it was drawn upon the firm ice. The sudden strain was too great for his strength. He had injured himself internally, and three days afterward he expired. He was buried by his comrades, after being sewed up in his own blankets, in a little gorge on the east face of Pekiutlik; where his remains now repose beneath a rude and simple mound, around which the cold winds of that frozen zone sigh and sing from year to year their mournful requiem.

On the 18th of July the expedition reached the termination of the solid ice, and they prepared to continue their route by navigation. It was at Cape Alexander that this change in their mode of locomotion began, and perils of a different description, but not less imminent, thenceforth awaited them. Nevertheless the commander led off in the Faith; and he was boldly followed by the other two boats, the Eric and the Hope.

Skirting along the abrupt and frozen shores of Greenland, they occasionally halted and drew up



their boats upon the ice-cliffs. In one instance they secured a retreat in a capacious cave formed in the ice, which Dr. Kane appropriately named the Weary Man's Rest. Another refuge received the equally suitable epithet of Providence Halt. On the 18th of July they reached the Crimson Cliffs and replenished their stock of food by obtaining a large quantity of the Arctic birds termed auks. Subsequently they were compelled to abandon one of the boats, the Red Eric, and resume for a period their laborious travel with sledges upon the ice. The strength of the men began to be exhausted; they were afflicted with short breathing; and their feet swelled so badly that they were obliged to cut open their canvas boots. Some of them were unable to sleep. Nevertheless they manfully persisted, toiling to overcome every obstacle, undaunted by any danger or difficulty, until at last, after an unparalleled journey of eighty days, they saw tossing upon the distant wave the first kayak or canoe of the Greenlander. As it approached them they hailed its welcome occupant, who proved to be Carl Mossyn, from the Danish settlement of Kingatok. From him they soon learned their exact location, and the brief outline of news with which he was acquainted of the great world from which they had so long been exiles. At length, on the 5th of August, the wearied travellers

entered the port of Upernavik, landed, and hauled their boats for the last time upon the rocky shore. The memorable perils and sufferings of the expedition were thus happily ended.

On the 6th of September Dr. Kane embarked with his crew on board the Danish vessel *Mariane*, then at Upernavik, with the intention of disembarking at the Shetland Islands and thence making his way homeward by some other means. He took on board with him his favorite boat, the *Faith*. This relic, together with the furs on his back, and the documents which recorded the events and results of the expedition, were the chief personal effects and mementos which he brought with him of his second Arctic expedition.

On the 11th of September the party arrived at Godhaven. Here the *Mariane* stopped for a short time to receive her papers of clearance, and discharge a few stores. Dr. Kane was on the point of sailing with her, when Captain Hartstene's vessels, the *Release* and the *Arctic*, which had been sent out in search of him, opportunely hove in sight. The navigators soon became aware of each other's presence. Dr. Kane immediately left the *Mariane* and transferred himself to Captain Hartstene's ship, where he and his associates were greeted with loud and long huzzas of welcome, and the most hearty and

genial reception. Their protracted voyage, with its infinite anxieties and toils, their perilous adventures amid cheerless continents of ice, their narrow escapes from rolling mountains and colossal icebergs, their sufferings from cold, hunger, and disease, their gloomy apprehensions of descending at last to an unknown grave amid the solitudes of the Arctic realms, and their sad doubts whether they should ever again behold the welcome and familiar scenes of home and friends to which they had so long been exiles,—all these now terminated in eventual triumph and escape. Dr. Kane's labors had not indeed resulted in the discovery of any new traces or remains of Sir John Franklin; but they were the means of securing important additions to geographical knowledge and valuable acquisitions in botany, meteorology, and other departments of science. His laborious researches have probably left little to be hereafter attained by any successor in Arctic exploration. He and his party arrived in the port of New York, with the squadron of Captain Hartstene, on the 11th of October, 1855, having been absent during the period of two years and nine months in the pursuit of his dangerous and honorable enterprise.\*

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\* See "History of the Second Grinnell Expedition," attributed to Professor Sontag, *passim*.

## CHAPTER XI.

### DR. KANE'S OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE SECOND GRINNELL EXPEDITION.

No inconsiderable portion of Dr. Kane's eminence resulted from his unquestionable ability in the department of authorship. A prominent peculiarity of all his productions is the clearness and accuracy with which they reflect his own distinctive qualities of mind and heart. They are, to a great extent, faithful mirrors in which the reader can behold the image and the idiosyncrasies of the man. The size and value of these works render them in some degree inaccessible to the great mass of the community; yet a biography which would contain no specimen of his literary productions would inevitably fail to furnish a satisfactory portrait of his character and his genius. We therefore insert in the present chapter extracts from the Official Report which Dr. Kane rendered to the Secretary of the Navy at Washington of the incidents and results of his celebrated expedition; and although very little opportunity was afforded in this essay for the display of scientific or literary



acquisitions, it is illustrative of the author's character, inasmuch as its style and manner are singularly in accordance with what the peculiarities of a government document ought to be: it is unsurpassed for conciseness, clearness, and comprehensiveness. After briefly narrating his departure from the port of New York, Dr. Kane proceeds:

“On reaching Melville Bay I found the shore-ices so decayed that I did not deem it advisable to attempt the usual passage along the fast floes of the land, but stood directly to the northward and westward, as indicated by my log, until I met the Middle Pack. Here we headed nearly direct for Cape York, and succeeded in crossing the bay without injury in ten days after first encountering the ice. On the 7th of August we reached the headland of Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, and passed the highest point attained by our predecessor, Captain Inglefield, R.N. So far our observations accorded completely with the experience of this gallant officer in the summer of 1852. A fresh breeze, with a swell setting in from the southward and westward; marks upon the rocks indicating regular tides; no ice visible from aloft, and all the signs of continuous open water. As we advanced, however, a belt of heavy stream-ice was seen,—an evident precursor of drift; and a little afterward it became evident that the channel to the northward was obstructed by drifting pack. We were still too far to the south to carry out the views I had formed of our purposed search, and it became my duty, therefore, to attempt the penetration of this ice. Before doing this, I selected an appropriate inlet for a provision-depôt, and buried there a supply of beef, pork, and bread; at the same place we deposited our Francis's life-boat, covering it carefully with wet sand, and overlaying the frozen

mass with stones and moss. We afterward found that the Esquimaux had hunted around this inlet; but the *cache*, which we had thus secured as our own resort in case of emergency, escaped detection. No one having yet visited this coast, I landed on the most prominent western headland of a group of small islands,—the Littleton Islands of Inglefield,—and erected there a flagstaff and beacon; near this beacon, according to preconcerted arrangement, we deposited official despatches and our private letters of farewell. My first design in entering the pack was to force a passage to the north; but, after reaching latitude  $78^{\circ} 45' N.$ , we found the ice hugging the American shore, and extending in a drifting mass completely across the channel. This ice gradually bore down upon us, and we were forced to seek the comparatively open spaces of the Greenland coast. Still, we should have inevitably been beset and swept to the south, but for a small landlocked bay under whose cliffs we found a temporary asylum. We named it Refuge Inlet: it carries fifty fathoms of water within a biscuit-toss of its northern headland, and, but for a glacier which occupies its inner curve, would prove an eligible winter harbor.

“We were detained in this helpless situation three valuable days, the pack outside hardly admitting the passage of a boat. But, on the 13th, fearing lest the rapidly-advancing cold might prevent our penetrating farther, we warped out into the drift, and fastened to a grounded berg. That the Department may correctly apprehend our subsequent movements, it is necessary to describe some features peculiar to our position. The coast trended to the N.N.E. It was metamorphic in structure, rising in abrupt precipitous cliffs of basaltic greenstone from eight hundred to twelve hundred feet in perpendicular height. The shore at the base of this wall was invested by a permanent belt of ice, measuring from three to forty yards in

width, with a mean summer thickness of eighteen feet. The ice clung to the rocks with extreme tenacity; and, unlike similar formations to the south, it had resisted the thawing influences of summer. The tidal currents had worn its seaward face into a gnarled mural escarpment, against which the floes broke with splendid displays of force; but it still preserved an upper surface comparatively level, and adapted as a sort of highway for further travel. The drifting ice or pack outside of it was utterly impenetrable; many bergs recently discharged were driving backward and forward with the tides, and thus, pressing upon the ice of the floes, had raised up hills from sixty to seventy feet high. The mean rise and fall of the tide was twelve feet, and its rate of motion two and a half knots an hour.

“In this state of things, having no alternative but either to advance or to discontinue the search, I determined to take advantage of a small interspace which occurred at certain stages of the tide between the main pack and the coast, and, if possible, press through it. I was confirmed in this purpose by my knowledge of the extreme strength of the Advance, and my confidence in the spirit and fidelity of my comrades. The effort occupied us until the 1st of September. It was attended by the usual dangers of ice-penetration. We were on our beam-ends whenever the receding tides left us in deficient soundings; and on two of such occasions it was impossible to secure our stoves so as to prevent the brig from taking fire. We reached latitude  $78^{\circ} 43' N.$  on the 29th of August, having lost a part of our starboard bulwarks, a quarter-boat, our jib-boom, our best bower-anchor, and about six hundred fathoms of hawser; but with our brig in all essentials uninjured.

“We were now retarded by the rapid advance of winter: the young ice was forming with such rapidity that it became

evident that we must soon be frozen in. At this juncture my officers addressed to me written opinions in favor of a return to a more southern harbor; but, as such a step would have cost us our dearly-purchased progress and removed us from the field of our intended observations, I could not accede to their views. I determined, therefore, to start on foot with a party of observation, to seek a spot which might be eligible as a starting-point for our future travel, and, if such a one were found, to enter at once upon the fall duties of search. This step determined on, the command of the brig was committed to Mr. Ohlsen, and I started on the 29th of August with a detachment, carrying a whale-boat and sledge. The ice soon checked the passage of our boat; but I left her, and proceeded with a small sledge along the ledge of ice which, under the name of 'ice-foot,' I have before described as clinging to the shore. We were obliged, of course, to follow all the indentations of the coast, and our way was often completely obstructed by the discharge of rocks from the adjacent cliffs. In crossing a glacier we came near losing our party, and were finally compelled to abandon the sledge and continue our journey on foot. We succeeded, however, in completing our work, and reached a projecting cape, from which, at an elevation of eleven hundred feet, I commanded a prospect of the ice to the north and west as high as latitude  $80^{\circ}$  N. A black ridge running nearly due north, which we found afterward to be a glacier, terminated our view along the Greenland coast to the eastward. Numerous icebergs were crowded in masses throughout the axis of the channel; and, as far as our vision extended, the entire surface was a frozen sea. The island named Louis Napoleon on the charts of Captain Inglefield does not exist. The resemblance of ice to land will readily explain the misapprehension.

"The result of this journey, although not cheering, confirmed



me in my intention of wintering in the actual position of the brig; and I proceeded, immediately on our return, to organize parties for the fall, with a view to the establishment of provision-dépôts to facilitate the further researches of the spring. In selecting sites for these and the attendant travel, our parties passed over more than eight hundred miles. The coast of Greenland was traced one hundred and twenty-five miles to the north and east, and three caches were established at favorable points. The largest of these (No. III. of chart) contained eight hundred pounds of pemmican; it was located upon an island in latitude  $79^{\circ} 12' 6''$  N., longitude  $65^{\circ} 25'$  W., by Messrs. McGary and Bonsall. These operations were continued until the 20th of November, when the darkness arrested them. Our brig had been frozen in since the 10th of September. We had selected a harbor near a group of rocky islets in the southeastern curve of the bay, where we could establish our observatory, and had facilities for procuring water and for daily exercise. We were secure, too, against probable disturbance during the winter, and were sufficiently within the tidal influences to give us a hope of liberation in the spring.

"As we were about to winter higher north than any previous expedition, and, besides a probable excess of cold, were about to experience a longer deprivation of solar light, the arrangements for the interior were studied carefully. The deck was housed in with boards and calked with oakum. A system of warmth and ventilation was established; our permanent lamps were cased with chimneys, to prevent the accumulation of smoke; cooking, ice-melting, and washing arrangements were minutely cared for; the dogs were kennelled in squads, and they were allowed the alternate use of snow-houses and of the brig, as their condition might require. Our domestic system was organized with the most

exact attention to cleanliness, exercise, recreation, and withal to fixed routine. During the winter which followed, the sun was one hundred and twenty days below the horizon; and, owing to a range of hills toward our southern meridian, the maximum darkness was not relieved by apparent twilight even at noon-day. The atmospheric temperatures were lower than any that had been recorded by others before us. We had adopted every precaution to secure accuracy in these observations, and the indications of our numerous thermometers—alcoholic, ethereal, and mercurial—were registered hourly. From them it appears that the mean annual temperature of Rensselaer Harbor, as we named our winter-home, is lower than that of Melville Island, as recorded by Parry, by two degrees. In certain sheltered positions, the process of freezing was uninterrupted for any consecutive twenty-four hours throughout the year. The lowest temperature was observed in February, when the mean of eight instruments indicated minus  $70^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit. Chloroform froze; the essential oils of sassafras, juniper, cubebs, and wintergreen were resolved into mixed solid and liquid; and on the morning of February 24 we witnessed chloric ether congealed for the first time by a natural temperature.

“Our preparations for the second winter were modified largely by controlling circumstances. The physical energies of the party had sensibly declined. Our resources were diminished. We had but fifty gallons of oil saved from our summer’s seal-hunt. We were scant of fuel; and our food, which now consisted only of the ordinary marine stores, was by no means suited to repel scurvy. Our molasses was reduced to forty gallons, and our dried fruits seemed to have lost their efficiency. A single apartment was bulkheaded off amidships as a dormitory and abiding-room for our entire party, and a moss envelop, cut with difficulty from the frozen cliffs, made

to enclose it like a wall. A similar casing was placed over our deck, and a small tunnelled entry—the *tossut* of the Esquimaux—contrived to enter from below. We adopted as nearly as we could the habits of the natives, burning lamps for heat, dressing in fox-skin clothing, and relying for our daily supplies on the success of organized hunting-parties.

“The upper tribes of these Esquimaux had their nearest winter settlement at a spot distant, by dog-journey, about seventy-five miles. We entered into regular communication with this rude and simple-minded people, combining our efforts with theirs for mutual support, and interchanging numerous friendly offices. Bear-meat, seal, walrus, fox, and ptarmigan, were our supplies. They were eaten raw, with a rigorous attention to their impartial distribution. With the dark months, however, these supplies became very scanty. The exertions of our best hunters were unavailing, and my personal attempts to reach the Esquimaux failed less on account of the cold (minus 52°) than the ruggedness of the ice, the extreme darkness, and the renewal of tetanic diseases among our dogs. Our poor neighbors, however, fared worse than ourselves: famine, attended by frightful forms of disease, reduced them to the lowest stages of misery and emaciation. Our own party was gradually disabled. Mr. Brooks and Mr. Wilson, both of whom had lost toes by amputation, manifested symptoms of a grave character. William Morton was severely frozen; and we were deprived of the valuable services of the surgeon by the effects of a frost-bite, which rendered it necessary for him to submit to amputation. Scurvy with varying phases gradually pervaded our company, until Mr. Bonsall and myself only remained able to attend upon the sick and carry on the daily work of the ship, if that name could still appropriately designate the burrow which we inhabited. Even after this state of things had begun to im-

prove, the demoralizing effects of continued debility and seemingly hopeless privation were unfavorably apparent among some of the party. I pass from this topic with the single remark that our ultimate escape would have been hazarded, but for the often painfully-enforced routine which the more experienced among us felt the necessity of adhering to rigorously under all circumstances.

“In the latter part of March the walrus again made their appearance among the broken ice to the south, and we shared with the Esquimaux the proceeds of the hunt. The hemorrhages which had much depressed our party subsided, and we began slowly to recover our strength. The sun came back to us on the 21st of February; and by the 18th of April the carpenter and several others were able to resume their duties. In view of the contingencies which I had long apprehended, I found it necessary to abandon the brig. We had already consumed for firewood her upper spars, bulwarks, deck-sheathing, stanchions, bulkheads, hatches, extra strengthening-timbers—in fact, every thing that could be taken without destroying her sea-worthiness. The papers which I append show the results of the several surveys made at this time by my orders. It will be seen from them that we had but a few weeks’ supply left of food or fuel; that the path of our intended retreat was a solid plain of ice, and that to delay a third winter, while it could in no wise promote the search after Sir John Franklin, would prove fatal to many of our party. Our organization for the escape was matured with the greatest care. Three boats—two of them whaleboats twenty-four feet in length, and the third a light cedar dingy of thirteen feet—were mounted upon runners cut from the cross-beams of the vessel and bolted, to prevent the disaster of breakage. These runners were eighteen feet in length, and shod with hoop-iron. No nails were used in their construc-



tion; they were lashed together so as to form a pliable sledge, and upon it the boats were cradled so as to be removable at pleasure.

“A fourth sledge, with a team of dogs, was reserved for the transport of our sick, four of whom were still unable to move, and for carrying on our stock of provisions. An abandoned Esquimaux hut, about thirty-five miles from the brig, was fitted up as well as our means permitted, to serve as an *entrepôt* of stores and a wayside shelter for those of the party who were already broken down, or who might yield to the first trials of the journey. The cooking-utensils were made from our old stove-pipe. They consisted of simple soup-boilers, enclosed by a cylinder to protect them from the wind. A metal trough to receive fat, with the aid of moss and cotton canvas, enabled us to keep up an active fire. My provisions were packed in water-proof bags, adapted in shape to the sheer of the boats, and in no case rising above the thwarts. They consisted, with the exception of tea, coffee, and small stores for the sick, exclusively of melted fat and powdered biscuit. The clothing was limited to a fixed allowance. Moccasins for the feet were made of our woollen carpeting, which had been saved for the purpose, and numerous changes of dry blanket-socks were kept for general use. For bedding, our buffalo-robcs were aided by eider-down quilted into coverlets: the experience of former travel having assured us that, next to diet and periodical rest, good bedding and comfortable foot-gear were the most important things to be considered.

“I took upon myself the office of transporting the sick and our reserve of provisions, employing for this purpose a dog-sledge and our single team of dogs. I carried down my first load of stores in April, and on the 15th of May began the removal of the sick. By the middle of June, all our disabled men and some twelve hundred pounds of stores had in

this manner been transferred by a series of journeyings equal in the aggregate to eleven hundred miles. On the 17th of May, having authenticated by appropriate surveys the necessities of our condition and made all our preparations for the journey, the sledge-boats left the vessel, dragged by the officers and men, under the immediate charge of Mr. Henry Brooks; a duty which he fulfilled with unswerving fidelity and energy.

“My collections of natural history were also carried as far as the sick-station at Anoatok; but, under a reluctant conviction that a further effort to preserve them would risk the safety of the party, they were finally abandoned. It is grateful to me to recollect the devotion of my comrades, who volunteered to sacrifice shares of both food and clothing to secure these records of our labors. We were able, not without difficulty, to carry our chronometers and the various instruments, magnetic and others, which might allow me still to make and verify our accustomed observations. We left behind the theodolite of the United States Coast Survey and the valuable self-registering barometric apparatus furnished by the American Philosophical Society. Our library, as well those portions which had been furnished by the government and by Mr. Grinnell as my own, were necessarily sacrificed. We preserved only the documents of the Expedition. The first portions of our journey filled me with misgivings, as the weakness of the party showed itself in dropsical swellings and excessive difficulty of respiration. In spite of a careful system of training, the first exposure to temperatures ranging about zero and below it were to an invalid party extremely trying; and for the first eight days the entire distance accomplished from the ship did not exceed fifteen miles. Although the mean rate of transportation was afterward increased, it never exceeded three and a half miles a day over ice. Some

idea may be formed by the Department of the nature of this journey from the fact that every three and a half miles thus attained cost us from twelve to fifteen miles of actual travel.

“To sustain the party by the aid of fresh food required dog-journeys to the south settlements of the Esquimaux, distant from us about seventy-five miles. I found it necessary, also, to return from time to time to the brig, with the view of augmenting our supplies. My last visit to her was on the 8th of June, for the purpose of procuring some pork to serve for fuel. She was then precisely as when we left her on the 17th of May, immovably frozen in, with nine feet of solid ice under her bows. We availed ourselves of the occasional facilities which these visits allowed us to increase our stock of bread, of which we succeeded in baking four hundred and eighty pounds.

“Continuing our southward progress, we neared Littleton Island. Our sick, first left at Anokatok, were gradually brought down to the boats as some of them gained strength enough to aid in the labor of dragging. The condition of the ice as it became thinner and decaying made this labor more difficult; and, in the course of our many breaks through, several of the party narrowly escaped being carried under by the tides. In the effort to liberate our sledges from the broken ice after one of these accidents, Acting Carpenter Ohlsen received an internal injury. Paralysis of the bladder was rapidly followed by tetanic symptoms, and he died on the 12th of June, three days after his attack. He has left behind him a young wife, who depended entirely upon him for support. He was buried upon Littleton Island, opposite a cape which bears his name.

“From this stage of our journey up to the time of reaching the first open water, which was near Cape Alexander, we were comforted by the friendly assistance of the Esquimaux of Etah. These people faithfully adhered to the alliance which

we had established during the winter. They brought us daily supplies of birds, helped us to carry our provisions and stores, and in their daily intercourse with us exhibited the kindest feeling and most rigid honesty. When we remembered that they had been so assuming and aggressive upon our first arrival that I was forced to seize their wives as hostages for the protection of our property, their present demeanor was not without its lesson. Once convinced of our superiority of power, and assured of our disposition to unite our resources with theirs for mutual protection and support, they had relied upon us implicitly, and strove now to requite their obligations toward us by ministering to our wants. We left them on the 18th of June, at the margin of the floe. In thirty-one days we had walked three hundred and sixteen miles, and had transported our boats over eighty-one miles of unbroken ice. The men, women, and children of the little settlement had also travelled over the ice to bid us good-bye, and we did not part from them without emotion.

“The passage between this point and one ten miles northwest of Hakluyt Island was in open water. It was the only open water seen north of Cape York, in latitude  $75^{\circ} 59' N$ . We ran this under sail in a single day, hauling up on the ice to sleep. The ice was a closed pack, hanging around the north and south channels of Murchison Sound, and seemingly continued to the westward. The land-ices were still unbroken, and we were obliged to continue our journey by alternate movements over ice and water. So protracted and arduous were these, that between the 20th of June and the 6th of July we had advanced but one hundred miles. Our average progress was about eight miles a day, stopping for our hunting-parties and for sleep. Great care was taken not to infringe upon the daily routine. We had perpetual daylight; but it was my rule, rarely broken even by extreme necessity, not to



enter upon the labors of a day until we were fully refreshed from those of the day before. We halted regularly at bedtime and for meals. The boats, if afloat, were drawn up, the oars always disposed on the ice as a platform for the stores; our buffalo-skins were spread, each man placed himself with his pack according to his number, the cook for the day made his fire, and the ration, however scanty, was formally measured out. Prayers were never intermitted. I believe firmly that to these well-sustained observances we are largely indebted for our final escape.

“As we moved onward, we were forced to rely principally on our guns for a supply of food. We suffered, when off the coast immediately north of Wostenholm Sound, from a scarcity of game, and were subjected to serious sickness in consequence. But at Dalrymple Island, a little farther south, we recruited rapidly on eggs of the eider-duck; and from this point to Conical Rock we found birds in abundance. Again, at the most uncertain period of our passage, when our stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, we were suddenly arrested in our course by high and rugged land-ice, which hugged a glacier near Cape Dudley Digges. We were too weak to drag our boats over this barrier, and were driven in consequence to land under the cliffs. To our joyful surprise, we found them teeming with animal life. This transition from enfeebling want to the plenty which restored our strength, we attributed to the direct interposition of Providence. The *lumme* (Uriæ, Brunichii, and Troile) was the fowl which we here found in greatest numbers. We dried upon the rocks about two hundred pounds of its meat, which we carefully saved for the transit of Melville Bay. The rest of the coast, except under the glaciers, was followed with less difficulty. We found peat of good quality, and plenty of food. Our daily allowance of birds was twelve to a man. They were boiled into a rich

soup, to which we added a carefully-measured allowance of six ounces of bread.

“On the 21st we reached Cape York, and, finding no natives, made immediate preparations for crossing Melville Bay. An extended view showed the land-ice nearly unbroken, and a large drift of pack to the southward and westward. A beacon-cairn was built, and strips of red flannel fastened to a flagstaff so placed as to attract the attention of whalers or searching-parties. I deposited here a notice of our future intentions, a list of our provisions on hand, and a short summary of the discoveries of the cruise.

“Up to the 26th of July our traverse of Melville Bay was along the margin of the land-ice, with only twice a resort to portage. We came then upon comparatively open drift extending to the southward and westward, which, after mature consideration, I determined to follow. There were arguments in favor of a different course, perhaps for the time less hazardous; but the state of health among my comrades admonished me that it was best to encounter the risks that were to expedite our release. The reduced bulk of our stores enabled us now to consolidate the party into two boats, breaking up the remaining one for fuel, of which we were in need. Our lengthened practice of alternating boat and sledge management had given us something of assurance in this mode of travel, and we were, besides, familiarized with privation. It was a time of renewed suffering; but, in the result, we reached the north coast of Greenland, near Horse’s Head, on the 3d of August, and, following thence the inside passage, arrived on the 6th at Upernavik, eighty-three days after leaving the Advance. We did not intermit our observations by sextant and artificial horizon as we came down the bay, and succeeded in adding to our meteorological and magnetic registers. These, including a re-survey of the coast as laid down in the Admi-

rality charts, will be included in a special report to the Department.

"We were welcomed at the Danish settlements with characteristic hospitality. The chief trader, Knud Gelmeyden Fleischer, advanced to us from the stores of the Royal Greenland Trading Company at Upernavik whatever our necessities required; and when we afterward reached Godhavn, the seat of the royal inspectorate, Mr. Olrik, the inspector, lavished the kindest attentions upon our party.

"We had taken passage at Upernavik in the Danish brig Marianne, then upon her annual visit to the Greenland colonies, Captain Amandsen, her very courteous and liberal commander, having engaged to land us at the Shetland Isles on his return route to Copenhagen. But, touching for a few days at Disco, we were met by the vessels which had been sent after us, under the command of Lieutenant Hartstene. I have no words to express the gratitude of all our party toward that noble-spirited officer and his associates, and toward our countrymen at home who had devised and given effect to the expedition for our rescue."

## CHAPTER XII.

### DR. KANE'S LAST LABORS, ILLNESS, AND DEATH.

THE mental and physical labor involved in the preparation of the narrative of his second Arctic Expedition exerted a pernicious influence on Dr. Kane's health. His active habits had rendered him in a great measure unfit for the confining and sedentary toil involved in such an undertaking. After suffering severely from the scurvy during many months of his absence, the first necessity of his system was relaxation and amusement; instead of which he devoted himself continuously and laboriously to the completion of the task which he had designated for himself.

The anxieties attendant upon the composition of this work were increased by the attempt which was made by those pecuniarily interested in its future sale, to obtain an appropriation from Congress for the purchase of a large number of copies. The representatives from Philadelphia, Messrs. Tyson and Florence, particularly interested themselves in this effort. They were aided by other statesmen of



eminence at Washington; by whose means a favorable bill was passed by the House. There were greater obstacles to be overcome in the Senate; where, eventually, the proposed appropriation was negatived. This result was naturally the source of much vexation to the author, to whom the sensation of defeat in any enterprise was an unusual and a repugnant one. This failure was not produced by any supposed want of merit either in the work or in the expedition whose events it chronicled; but because a contrary course was thought to establish a precedent which would be pernicious or unfair. What the government thought of the expedition may be gathered from Mr. Dobbin's published sentiments on the subject. He says, "The discoveries made by this truly remarkable man and excellent officer (Dr. Kane) will be regarded as valuable contributions to science. He advanced in those frozen regions far beyond his intrepid predecessors whose explorations had excited such admiration. I commend the results of his explorations as worthy of the attention and patronage of Congress."\* Other legislative bodies in the country were not so backward in expressions of proper appreciation. The Legislatures of Pennsylvania,

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\* See the Annual Report of Mr. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy, dated December 3, 1855.

New York, New Jersey, and Maryland passed resolutions applauding the results of the Expedition; while from the Legislature of New York, from the Geographical Society of London, and from the sovereign of Great Britain, Dr. Kane received gold medals as tokens of their admiration for his services and achievements.

The question here very naturally suggests itself: What were the actual results produced by Dr. Kane's second expedition? These results can be ascertained most accurately by a careful examination of the elaborate *Chart* which was published in connection with his narrative, and by comparing its novelties and improvements with the charts which had previously existed. By such a scrutiny we learn (1) That Dr. Kane explored the northern face of Greenland, where it is united with the northern extremity of the opposite coast by the Great Glacier of Humboldt. (2.) He carefully examined this remarkable and unfamiliar wonder of the Arctic zone; which, as we have seen on a preceding page, presents an unbroken front of sixty miles. (3.) He discovered and described the most northern extremity and projection of the American Continent. (4.) He discovered and examined the coast of Washington Land, which is separated from the American Continent by a channel thirty-five miles in width. (5.)

He delineated nearly a thousand miles of coast-line, to accomplish which result he journeyed two thousand miles either on foot, or on sledges drawn by dogs. (6.) The expedition also discovered the Polar Sea, which Captain Inglefield supposed he had also previously seen, as asserted in his so-called "Dip into the Polar Basin;" but which flattering idea was probably a delusion.\* The discovery of this singular phenomenon by Dr. Kane's expedition rests not upon the authority of the commander, but on that of Morton.

After having completed his second narrative for the press, Dr. Kane's health was so much impaired that he felt the necessity of trying the recuperative effect of travel. He sailed for England in October, 1856. During the passage he became worse. After a voyage of ordinary duration, he reached Liverpool. Here he visited Mrs. Franklin, the devoted wife of the heroic navigator, the British Admiralty, and the Royal Geographical Society; and he was everywhere received with the cordial applause and distinction which were due to his character and services. But he quickly discovered that the foggy atmosphere of London, and its reeking miasmata,

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\* See "A Summer's Search for Sir John Franklin, with a Dip into the Polar Basin," by Commander E. A. Inglefield, in the steamer *Isabel*. London, 1853.

were deadly in their effects upon his system; and he resolved at once to test the influence of a clearer and purer climate. The disease which afflicted him was the one to which he had long been subject,—hypertrophy, or enlargement, of the heart; a dangerous and painful affection, which produced frequent palpitation and difficult respiration. With these ailments were now united that endemic Arctic plague, the scurvy.

In accordance with his resolution, Dr. Kane sailed for Cuba in November, 1856. On the 25th of December he reached the port of Havana. The voyage had not improved his health, and a paralyzed leg and arm were now added to his other diseases. Having disembarked and taken lodgings at a hotel on shore, his condition slightly improved. In a few days his mother and two brothers reached his bedside; and thus he obtained a very great alleviation of his loneliness and his sufferings, by enjoying the presence and the assiduities of those to whom he was most closely attached. He still entertained hopes of recovery, and anxiously desired to resume his voyage homeward; but his fate had been far differently ordered. He continued to sink rapidly from day to day. In the last solemn scenes of his life he was as remarkable and peculiar as during the whole of his previous existence. Very soon



after his arrival at Havana he discovered that recovery was hopeless; he became conscious that his last hour rapidly approached; and he yielded to his destiny with the self-possessed resignation and composure of a hero and a Christian. At his own request, favorite portions of Scripture were daily read in his hearing, to which he listened, even when racked by the acutest pangs of suffering, with devout attention, and which seemed greatly to solace and cheer him. One incident which occurred in the dying chamber of that youthful hero well deserves to be held in remembrance. It had been his fate, as it is invariably the lot of superior genius and success, to pay the penalty of such rare gifts by incurring the jealousy, the malice, and the persecution of those meaner and baser reptiles of the human species who thus revenge themselves for their own insignificance and inferiority. From such as these Dr. Kane had suffered aggravated wrongs; yet even these, upon his death-bed, he himself cordially forgave, and demanded a similar sentiment from his weeping relatives around him. In this act there was displayed a moral sublimity and a philosophy which words cannot describe; for if the forgiveness of enemies be the most difficult and elevated duty of Christian ethics; if the sublimest teachings of human philosophers, either ancient or

modern, have never yet attained so exalted a conception; if this be one of the chief elements of Christianity which proves its measureless superiority over all human systems of belief and duty; then he who possessed the almost unparalleled courage and conscience to fulfil that precept deserves to be applauded to the echo as a wise, a good, and even a great, man.

This last duty having been performed, and when the voice of maternal tenderness was repeating the comforting words of the Great Teacher of men: "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you;" the spirit of the sufferer, gently severing the cords which bound it to its scarred and battered tenement of earth, sprang upward and away to other and nobler spheres. This event occurred on the 16th of February, 1857.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### OBSEQUIES OF DR. KANE—ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER.

THE remains of Dr. Kane were conveyed by his relatives from Havana to his native city for interment. Appropriate honors and impressive ceremonies attended their progress from New Orleans to Philadelphia, at all the principal cities upon the route. When they arrived at the termination of their journey, they lay in solemn state for some days in the Hall of American Independence. The City Councils passed resolutions of condolence for his death, of appreciation of his merits, and of respect for his memory. A meeting of distinguished citizens was held, in which resolutions were adopted of similar import; and addresses were delivered by persons of eminence, which echoed the public sentiments prevalent on the subject. The funeral obsequies were probably the most imposing and extensive which had ever been witnessed in Philadelphia. All the corporate bodies, all the military companies, representatives of all the public institutions, and men of distinction in every profession and pursuit,

served to form the immense procession which followed the corpse. Appropriate religious services took place in the Second Presbyterian Church; during the progress of which an eloquent and appropriate discourse was delivered by the pastor, commemorative of the virtues and merits of the deceased. His remains were at length deposited in their last long home at Laurel Hill Cemetery. A deep interest was taken by the whole community in these solemn rites, by which a great city expressed her admiration for the services and her esteem for the character of one of her most distinguished citizens, whose career of usefulness and celebrity had been thus suddenly and prematurely terminated.

The personal appearance of Dr. Kane was not such as would be anticipated from the immense energy which he exhibited and the wasting labors which he endured. He was below the medium size and weight, not exceeding five feet and a half in height. But the energy and the *vivida vis animi* which inhabited his frame imparted the stimulus and the power which impelled and sustained him. It is said that when the Mamelukes of Egypt first beheld the diminutive form of Napoleon, they could scarcely believe that *he* was the consummate and gifted soldier whose fame overshadowed the East, and whose masterly skill had broken and scattered their splendid



and formidable cavalry in the memorable battle of the Pyramids. It is erroneous, indeed, always to associate great mental power with an immense quantity of muscle and flesh, for they are rarely combined together; and the case of Dr. Kane was an additional illustration of this fact. But over his fragile frame and in his expressive countenance there was diffused that stamp of pure and high intellect, which always casts so undefinable a glory over the perishable body which enshrines it.

A prominent peculiarity of his mind was its capacity for intense, spasmodic, and prolonged activity. His faculties were keen, penetrating, vigorous, and persistent. It was his fashion to master every thing to which he seriously devoted his attention. He was bold, sometimes even to rashness; and to this peculiar quality are to be ascribed many of the most remarkable adventures of his life. He was not deficient in self-respect; but, on the contrary, he was marked by the dignity and decorum characteristic of the well-bred gentleman. His scientific attainments were extensive, as his published works unanswerably prove. But a more valuable quality than even these consisted in his practical shrewdness, energy, stability, and decision of character. All these combined together were necessary to constitute the extraordinary character which he possessed, and

to produce the unusual achievements which he performed.

In reference to Dr. Kane's moral qualities, it may with truth be said that he was a devout man. In every country his thoughts uniformly ascended reverently from nature to nature's God. If, amid the awful silence of an Arctic night, when not the slightest sound broke the appalling stillness of the scene, he gazed abroad from the deck of his vessel upon the boundless waste of frozen seas, mountains, and headlands which stretched away for hundreds of miles around him and separated him from that distant world of life, joy, and sympathy which he might never see again; then he looked upward into the solemn depths of the blue concave above him, and appreciating both the loneliness of his position and the watchfulness of the common Benefactor of all, exclaimed, "Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him?" If, from the heights of Popocatepetl he surveyed the extended and diversified realms where, in former ages, Mexican arts, civilization, and power flourished and covered the earth with gorgeous cities, stately palaces, luxuriant vegetation, and all the pleasing or impressive monuments of a great and cultivated nation; if he contemplated from his lofty perch the memorable process of conflict, defeat, and subjugation which marked the era

of the supremacy of the mightier but baser power of Spain, and remembered how a patriotic people, whose glory has passed away forever, fought and perished for the freedom and honor of their native land with a heroism worthy of a happier fate; if he thus condensed into a single view an epitome of the events of three mournful and momentous centuries of one of the most remarkable portions of the globe; it was to deduce the great and wise principle that, in all climes and ages, the just and beneficent hand of Providence controls the affairs of the world in accordance with his own purposes. If, within the deep and burning bosom of Tael he endeavored to probe the undiscovered mysteries of nature, and boldly ventured where no foot of man had ever before intruded; it was to enlarge his acquaintance with the instructive volume of nature, to gain a clearer view of the resources of the infinite and the creative, and to explode or confound the superstitious veneration with which pagan ignorance and idolatry had invested the spot, and rendered it one of the dark places of the earth, the habitation of cruelty. Everywhere the same consciousness of the uncertainty of his life, and the same tendency to religious sentiment, as the result of it, accompanied him, and was exhibited by him; and hence the most impartial and discerning critic of Dr. Kane's character may safely

assert that he merited in this view an appellation which is as rarely deserved as it is honorable in the possession: he was a Christian hero.

Proceeding from the contemplation of this quality, which is doubtless one of the most commendable which any man can possess, to the consideration of other features of Dr. Kane's character, we readily observe, by scrutinizing his history and his deeds, that he was confessedly ambitious of distinction. Conscious that in all probability his life would be short, he desired to achieve something during its brief span which would render his name eminent among his cotemporaries, and would transmit it unforgotten to the succeeding generation. This disposition displayed itself at an early age. He could never, indeed, completely overcome his repugnance to the study of languages, and seemed to be but little emulous of excellence in that department; but in mathematics and the natural sciences he possessed not only superior capacity, but a desire and a determination to excel, even during the earliest portion of his residence at the Virginia University. Had not sickness prematurely terminated his career in that institution, it is probable that the bright promise which he gave, by his progress under Professor Rodgers, would have been amply realized. And afterward, in every important event of his life,—in



his arduous studies and signal success as a physician; in his desire to turn to good advantage his rare opportunities of improvement and investigation in Eastern Asia; in the determination which he exhibited in reference to the exploration of the mysterious crater of Tael; in the intense ardor which inflamed him to take part in the hostilities between Mexico and the United States; in the eagerness with which he entered upon the first Arctic expedition which sailed from our shores; in the unconquerable resolution with which he followed out, executed, and completed his second venture into that perilous clime; and in the self-destroying industry with which he prepared his narrative of its events for the press;—in all these leading incidents of his career, one of his chief and controlling motives of action was an honorable desire for distinction. Nor does this quality deserve censure, but much rather praise. Nothing so clearly evinces abasement of character, and gives more infallible token of future disgrace or oblivion, than a contempt of the opinion of the wise and good of the community; and if we examine the motive cause which has inspired the most brilliant, useful, and applauded achievements of the human intellect in all lands and ages, it will clearly appear that this same honorable ambition constituted a large and decisive element in it.

Every observer of Dr. Kane's career has been struck with the singular restlessness, the persistent pertinacity, with which he pursued one object of usefulness and ambition after another. The key to this strange mystery is to be found in the precarious state of his health, and in the peculiarity of the disease which afflicted him. He was constantly threatened with an enlargement of the heart, resulting from the too great nourishment to which that organ in his instance was subjected. In such cases inactivity is death; motion, excitement, and fatigue are life. There is no doubt that his constant activity prolonged his existence for some years; and had not the peculiar nature of his pursuits entailed upon him other diseases in addition to his primeval one, his journeyings by land and sea, his explorations, conflicts, and convulsive enterprises, would have effectually contributed to the preservation of his life.

Dr. Kane's mental acquisitions, especially in his favorite departments, were accurate, extensive, and rich. He had remedied his deficiencies in classical studies, in a great measure, at a later period. He had acquired the knowledge of a foreign language even during the uneasy and uncomfortable vicissitudes of a sea-voyage. But his scientific attainments were of a high order. He deserved even at his early age

the honorable title of *Savant*; and, had he lived, those academical honors and distinctions which such eminence merits, and generally secures, would probably very soon have been conferred upon him. His published works furnish the most abundant proof of his scientific abilities. We have already spoken of the superior merit of his narratives of his Arctic expeditions, into whose rich and instructive pages no competent reader can look without clearly observing repeated indications of the hand of a master, whose works combine together in harmonious proportion the brilliant descriptions of a Taylor, the scientific details of a Humboldt, and the romantic adventures of a Livingstone.

The results actually accomplished by Dr. Kane during the few years of his existence are almost unparalleled. If we consider the amount of physical and mental labor, of active and sedentary toil, which he accomplished during the thirty-seven years of his life, it may well excite astonishment. He had visited and examined the four grand divisions of the earth. He had acquired a name and a place among the eminent members of the medical profession. He had made himself known by important and gallant military services. He twice visited and explored the most dangerous and difficult quarter of the globe. And he produced two large and standard works in

the literature of scientific travel and discovery. Few parallels to so great activity and to such valuable results, accomplished at so early an age, can be produced in our history. It was *exceeded* only by the memorable career and the transcendent genius of Alexander Hamilton. With such a beginning, it may very naturally be supposed that, had Dr. Kane lived, the great promise held out by his early manhood would have been amply fulfilled; and it would probably have become the privilege of his admirers eventually to have characterized him as the American Humboldt.

Only a single incident occurred in connection with the career of Dr. Kane, which has elicited from the public a doubtful sentiment, and has occasioned differences of opinion as to its propriety. This was his attempt to punish the desertion of Godfrey, one of his crew, by inflicting the penalty of death usually attendant on that crime. Some assert that this act was necessary, justifiable, and honorable, some, that it was illegal, vindictive, and murderous. We cannot conclude Dr. Kane's biography to better purpose than by presenting a full statement of the facts in reference to this important episode in his history.

In August, 1854, after the Arctic expedition commanded by Dr. Kane had been absent nearly two



years, and before the horrors of their second winter began to close around them, some of the crew became terrified at the idea of remaining in their icy home; they thought that it would be impossible to survive the rigors which they would be compelled to undergo; and believed that they might yet safely make their escape to the nearest Esquimaux settlements. To these opinions and to this purpose Dr. Kane was resolutely opposed. He called a meeting of the officers and crew; stated to them his views; and gave the dissatisfied men permission to carry out their intention, if they chose so to do. Eight persons out of seventeen determined to remain: the rest preferred to attempt an escape before the approaching rigors of winter should render it impossible. Among this number was William Godfrey.

During the progress of several succeeding months, all those who had undertaken to escape returned to the brig, after having endured the utmost hardships of exposure, hunger, and sickness. They gladly embraced the shelter and support which the vessel afforded, in preference to perishing upon the frozen and uninhabited wastes over which their proposed journey lay. By returning to the brig, it must be manifest to every rational observer that they voluntarily resumed the relations which had previously existed between the commander and

his crew. In the absence of any new contract on the subject, the continuance of the pre-existent one would be implied, both by common sense, and by the arbitrary principle of law; for Dr. Kane was the acknowledged commander of the vessel; on him rested all the responsibility of her fate; to him had been intrusted the lives and safety of the crew; by leaving the vessel the men had only suspended, with the commander's permission, their legal relations with him; and by again returning within his jurisdiction, they again placed themselves, *ipso facto*, under his authority. For no one will for a moment assert that, by any perversion of law or reason, any other co-ordinate authority than his could be allowed to exist on board the vessel; or that an *imperium in imperio* could be established there by any possible means. If a division of authority were a thing in any respect or degree allowable under such circumstances, where was the encroachment to end? where was the line of separation to be drawn? It is self-evident that such a policy would have inevitably entailed discord, conflict, and finally mutual destruction; and the dissolution of all order, security, and success in attaining the purposes of the expedition would have ensued. When, therefore, those who deserted in August, 1854, returned to the vessel, they did so from necessity, and they voluntarily

placed themselves under the only jurisdiction which there existed, or could exist, not only by force of law, but also by reason of the natural necessity of self-preservation under which the commander and his men rested.

Thus matters stood when, in March, 1855, Dr. Kane discovered among his crew the first symptoms of a mutiny. Godfrey and Blake were detected frequently whispering mysteriously together; and after a careful scrutiny of their movements for some days, the commander came to the deliberate conviction that they were preparing to desert. The event clearly established the truth of this suspicion. On the 20th of March they were actually detected, as they were equipped and about to escape over the side of the vessel. The accomplishment of their purpose was, for the moment, defeated. They confessed their intention, asked for forgiveness, were forgiven, and in an hour afterward Godfrey succeeded in deserting. As a matter of course, his leaving *without* the consent of his commander was a very different act from that of the previous occasion, when Dr. Kane gave his written permission to all who might wish to leave.

Godfrey immediately proceeded to the nearest Esquimaux settlement, at Etah, ninety miles distant, where he continued to reside for some time.

Dr. Kane apprehended that it was his purpose to procure from Hans, the chief Esquimaux friend of the expedition, the only dog-sledge which the settlement possessed, and travel southward with it. The services of this dog-sledge were indispensable to the existence of the crew of the *Advance*; for by its means Hans was occasionally able to convey to them some fresh walrus-meat. After enjoying himself for some time at Etah, Godfrey returned to the vicinity of the deserted vessel in possession of the identical dog-sledge whose assistance was so inestimable. With it he brought some fresh provisions for the scurvy-eaten crew. This act was in itself very commendable; but criminal justice knows nothing of set-off; and the crimes of desertion and mutiny cannot be excused or justified by an act of benevolence and generosity. The example of Godfrey in boldly defying the authority under whose control the expedition had been placed; the probability that he had returned to the brig in order to entice his former confederate away; his evil counsel and influence upon the Esquimaux at Etah, by which they might in future be rendered hostile to the members of the expedition, and refuse them further indispensable supplies; these grave considerations much overbalanced the trivial weight of a single act



of generosity in conveying some food to the starving adventurers.

In truth, the future safety of the expedition depended upon the recapture of Godfrey, or upon the signal punishment of his mutiny. Accordingly, when he approached the vessel, and his presence was discovered, he was ordered by the commander to come on board. Neither threats nor persuasions produced any effect upon him. During a short interval which ensued, in which Dr. Kane attempted to procure the necessary irons with which to restrain him, he turned and fled. Then it was that, while he was still within practicable range, Dr. Kane sent a bullet vainly whizzing past his head. The irons in question were indispensable, inasmuch as the crew were all so much disabled with scurvy at that time, that it would have been impossible for them to control Godfrey without some additional means.

Such are the unvarnished facts which appertained to this transaction. The justification of Dr. Kane in the premises must be clearly evident to every impartial observer; especially when the bearings of the great law of self-preservation in the case are taken into consideration; for the commander greatly feared the influence which Godfrey might exert upon his indispensable allies at Etah. It is also

worthy of remark that, among the many labored reviews which have appeared of Dr. Kane's Narrative of his expedition, in which all the preceding facts are minutely and boldly described by him, only a single journal of eminence has taken an unfavorable or a censorious view of his attempt to punish this dangerous defiance of established and essential authority on the part of the deserter.\*

Having thus surveyed the life, described the genius, and vindicated the fame of this remarkable man, we may fitly conclude our task by quoting an admirable passage from that polished and classical eulogy which Christian eloquence has so impressively uttered over his tomb:

“Elisha Kent Kane, a name now to be pronounced in the simple dignity of history, was bred in the lap of science and trained in the school of peril, that he might consecrate himself to a philanthropic purpose to which so young he has fallen a martyr. The story of his life is already a fireside tale. Multitudes, in admiring fancy, have retraced his footprints. Now, that that brief career is closed in death, we recur to it with a mournful fondness, from

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\* See the North British Review for January, 1857. The article was republished in the American Eclectic Magazine, edited by W. H. Bidwell, in the April number, 1857.

the daring exploits which formed the pastime of his youth, to the graver tasks to which he brought his developed manhood. Though born to ease and elegance, when but a young student, used to academic tastes and honors, we see him breaking away from the refinements of life into the rough paths of privation and danger. Through distant and varied regions we follow him in his pursuit of scientific discovery and adventure. On the borders of China, within the unexplored depths of the crater of Luzon, in India and Ceylon, in the islands of the Pacific, by the sources of the Nile, amid the frowning sphinxes of Egypt and the classic ruins of Greece, along the fevered coast of Africa, on the embattled plains of Mexico, we behold him everywhere blending the enthusiasm of the scholar with the daring of the soldier and the research of the man of science. The nation takes him to its heart with patriotic pride. In hopeful fancy, a still brighter career is pictured before him,—when, alas! the vision, while yet it dazzles, dissolves in tears. We awake to the sense of a loss which no contemporary at his age could occasion.”\*

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\* See Funeral Discourse delivered by Rev. Charles W. Shields, in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on the occasion of Dr. Kane's obsequies.

## PART II.

# JOHN CHARLES FREMONT.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### FREMONT'S YOUTH AND FIRST EXPEDITIONS.

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT was born in Savannah, Georgia, in January, 1813. He was the eldest son of a French emigrant of the same name, who had fled to the New World from the destructive and terrific storms of the first French Revolution,—and Ann Beverly Whiting, a native of Gloucester county, Virginia, whose family, belonging to the most respectable and aristocratic circle in the State, was related to that of George Washington. Fremont's father died in 1818, and the widowed mother then removed to Charleston, South Carolina, which city was destined to be the scene of the youthful sports and studies of one of the boldest and most gifted of American Explorers.

Fremont's first opportunities of mental improvement were obtained in the office of Mr. Mitchell, a



distinguished attorney of Charleston. But soon his marked displays of ability and of progress induced his benefactor to place him under the tuition of a professional instructor, Dr. Robertson, who at that time conducted a select school in the capital of the State. Under this tutor Fremont's progress was very remarkable, and has been commemorated by a labored panegyric from the pen of his venerable instructor. His subsequent connection with Charleston College is said to have been suspended by his ardent attachment to a young lady of West Indian birth; nor could either encouragements or threats dissolve the potent spell which her transcendent beauty had cast upon him. His neglect of his studies at length procured his expulsion from the institution,—although at a subsequent period that stigma was removed.

This misfortune produced no permanent injury to his prospects. With the elastic power which youth and genius alone possess, Fremont soon began to appreciate the importance of devoting his energies to some settled plan of life. He commenced to teach mathematics to a few youths of his acquaintance, and he also took charge of a regular evening school. In 1833, an opportunity occurred in which he could employ his talents and attainments in a higher and more extended sphere. The sloop-of-

war Natchez was sent by Jackson to the port of Charleston, to aid in suppressing the movements and the resistance of the famous Nullifiers; and Fremont obtained the appointment of teacher of mathematics on board of that vessel. He was then just twenty years of age. During two years and a half he traveled with those who had been placed under his tuition during the cruise of the ship.

On his return from this expedition, Fremont resolved to devote his attention to the science of surveying and railroad-engineering. He made his first attempt in the examination of the projected route of the railway between Charleston and Augusta. In the execution of this task he explored a large portion of South Carolina and Tennessee; and amid the wild and rugged scenery which surrounded his path, he first acquired a fondness for those gigantic monuments and stupendous solitudes of nature among which, afterward, in a far-distant sphere, his chief triumphs and most remarkable achievements were destined to lie. Having finished his task here, he entered upon another *reconnaissance* of a portion of Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, in company with a body of Cherokee Indians. The dreary months of the winter passed away in the execution of this work; and in the ensuing spring he proceeded to explore the waters and the territo-

ries of the Upper Mississippi, under the guidance of M. Nicollet, a French *savan* of ability and distinction.

The years of 1838 and 1839 were employed by Fremont in the active duties of his appointment. He explored the greater part of the vast region lying between the Missouri and the upper rivers. After his return, a year was occupied in preparing for publication the abundant materials which his extended and acute observation had placed at his command. A labored narrative, accompanied with maps and illustrations, was completed,—to the accuracy and value of which Fremont's labors contributed no insignificant share. In 1841, he received an order from Government to make a thorough examination of the river Des Moines, in Iowa,—on the banks of which the Fox and Sac Indians still retained their simple and primeval abodes. He successfully performed his task; and immediately on his return to Washington he married the daughter of Senator Benton, of Missouri, to whom he had been for some time engaged. The ardent and youthful lovers thus united their destinies, in spite of the most strenuous opposition of the parents of the beautiful and determined bride.

A few months only were appropriated by the happy pair to the enjoyment of hymeneal bliss; for

Fremont had already been led to entertain large and expansive views in reference to the importance and grandeur of scientific explorations throughout the immense territories of the West; and he was eager to commence the realization of his glowing conceptions. He had already caught a glimpse of the high sphere and destiny for which his rare talents fitted him. The exploration, the settlement, the civilization of the vast territories of the remoter West constitute one of those magnificent and gorgeous transformations which are inherent in the progress and history of this continent; and those capacious and sagacious minds which are able to grasp the full grandeur of the conception appreciate the importance, as well as the difficulty and the glory, of its realization. The intellect of Fremont was one of these. He perceived the inevitable destiny reserved in the future for this portion of an almost boundless continent; he saw that with advancing time the teeming and enterprising millions who then crowded the Atlantic States would burst through their original confines, and, like the multitudinous waves of the ocean, would rush forth, swelling over mountains, plains, and valleys, until their advancing billows would spread themselves out at last over the expansive shores of the Pacific deep. He resolved to devote his talents and energies to the accomplishment of



the preliminary steps which were necessary to the fulfilment of this destiny; and to explore, define, and estimate the mighty realms which, though fated soon to become the triumphant highway of great nations, remained at that period a mysterious and unfamiliar solitude.

Impressed with these grand conceptions, Mr. Fremont, early in May, 1842, applied to Colonel Abert, the able chief of the Topographical Corps at Washington, for permission to explore the frontier lying beyond the Mississippi, together with the Rocky Mountains,—and especially that portion which lay in the vicinity of the South Pass; with particular reference to obtaining information in reference to the most suitable and convenient route to be selected for the line of emigrant-travel across the mountains. By the end of May, permission had been granted and the necessary preparations completed. The indispensable philosophical instruments, arms, ammunition, and stores were provided, and twenty-five *voyageurs* were selected to accompany the bold adventurer in his daring and dangerous journey.

Fremont pursued his route along the bed of the Platte River and carefully explored the famous South Pass. He thence proceeded to the Wind River Peak of the Rocky Mountains, and returned

by way of the Loup fork of the Platte River. Many thrilling incidents and perilous escapes attended his progress during this expedition. At Fort Laramie, hundreds of miles from the extreme limits of civilization, he found himself surrounded by hostile and treacherous Indians. Destruction seemed to threaten his farther advance. The boldest and most experienced guides warned him not to continue his journey. Even "Kit Carson," whose fortitude and heroism have long been famous amid the primeval solitudes and imminent perils of the remoter West, expressed the opinion that the state of the country through which they proposed to travel was exceedingly dangerous. But nothing could deter the daring adventurer from the prosecution of his appointed work. While dining at Fort Platte, a party of hostile Indians came in, who endeavored to persuade the travellers not to venture farther. A conference was held with them. Complaints of hostility and aggression were made on both sides. One of the tawny braves, named the *Bull's Tail*, was chief spokesman for the savages, and declaimed with no mean energy and effect respecting the injuries and the encroachments of the whites. The council was at last abruptly broken up, and Fremont determined to advance, regardless of the apprehensions which had already

been excited. The event justified his determination. The Indians, overawed by his resolution and self-reliance, and dreading the superior efficiency of the fire-arms of the party, assailed them no more.

Fremont's route lay among the rugged peaks of the Rocky Mountains, which he thoroughly explored. He carefully made observations with the barometer and with the scientific instruments with which he was provided. He ascended, after infinite labor and risk, the lofty summit of the Wind River Peak, the highest eminence of the Rocky Mountains, which had never before been trodden by the adventurous foot of man. It rises nearly fourteen thousand feet above the level of the sea; and the view which greeted his eye from this magnificent elevation was as extended and as sublime as the imagination of man can conceive. Toward the west, innumerable lakes and streams poured their abundant waters toward the bosom of the Pacific and the Gulf of California. In another direction the pellucid fountains glittered to his view from which flowed the sources of the great Missouri River. To the north, an endless array of snowy mountains stretched away in the distance. Nearer at hand, the rugged and diversified outlines of the neighboring crags and eminences appeared more

distinctly. Fremont stood on a point which towered three thousand five hundred feet above all the surrounding objects. The rocky apex of the mountain he found to be composed of gneiss. On that summit he made various scientific observations, and at length descended from his perilous position without accident. His only companion during this ariel excursion was a summer bee, the welcome pioneer of civilization, which, as the bold explorer was gazing from the summit upon the distant and diversified realms beneath him, came within his friendly grasp, borne along upon the highest breezes of the Rocky Mountains.

This memorable ascent and its accompanying incidents deserve to be narrated in the vivid language of the explorer himself:—

“When we had secured strength for the day (August 15) by a hearty breakfast, we covered what remained, which was enough for one meal, with rocks, in order that it might be safe from any marauding bird, and, saddling our mules, turned our faces once more toward the peaks. This time we determined to proceed quietly and cautiously, deliberately resolved to accomplish our object if it were within the compass of human means. We were of opinion that a long defile which lay to the left of yesterday’s route would lead us to the foot of the



main peak. Our mules had been refreshed by the fine grass in the little ravine at the Island camp, and we intended to ride up the defile as far as possible, in order to husband our strength for the main ascent. Though this was a fine passage, still, it was a defile of the most rugged mountains known, and we had many a rough and steep slippery place to cross before reaching the end. In this place the sun rarely shone; snow lay along the border of the small stream which flowed through it, and occasional icy passages made the footing of the mules very insecure, and the rocks and ground were moist with the trickling waters in this spring of mighty rivers. We soon had the satisfaction to find ourselves riding along the huge wall which forms the central summits of the chain. There at last it rose by our sides, a nearly perpendicular wall of granite, terminating two thousand to three thousand feet above our heads in a serrated line of broken, jagged cones. We rode on until we came almost immediately below the main peak, which I denominated the Snow Peak, as it exhibited more snow to the eye than any of the neighboring summits. Here were three small lakes of a green color, each of perhaps a thousand yards in diameter, and apparently very deep. These lay in a kind of chasm, and, according to the barometer, we had attained

out a few hundred feet above the island lake. The barometer here stood at 20.450, attached thermometer 70°.

“We managed to get our mules up to a little bench about a hundred feet above the lakes, and turned them loose to graze. During our rough ride to this place they had exhibited a wonderful surefootedness. Parts of the defile were filled with angular, sharp fragments of rock, three or four and eight or ten feet cubic; and among these they had worked their way, leaping from one narrow point to another, rarely making a false step, and giving us no occasion to dismount. Having divested ourselves of every unnecessary encumbrance, we commenced the ascent. This time, like experienced travellers, we did not press ourselves, but climbed leisurely, sitting down so soon as we found breath beginning to fail. At intervals we reached places where a number of springs gushed from the rocks, and about one thousand eight hundred feet above the lakes came to the snow-line. From this point our progress was uninterrupted climbing. Hitherto I had worn a pair of thick moccasins, with soles of *parflèche*, but here I put on a light, thin pair, which I had brought for the purpose, as now the use of our toes became necessary to a further advance. I availed myself of a sort of comb of the mountain,

which stood against the wall like a buttress, and which the wind and the solar radiation, joined to the steepness of the smooth rock, had kept almost entirely free from snow. Up this I made my way rapidly. Our cautious method of advancing in the outset had spared my strength; and, with the exception of a slight disposition to headache, I felt no remains of yesterday's illness. In a few minutes we reached a point where the buttress was overhanging, and there was no other way of surmounting the difficulty than by passing around one side of it, which was the face of a vertical precipice of several hundred feet.

“Putting hands and feet in the crevices between the blocks, I succeeded in getting over it, and, when I reached the top, found my companions in a small valley below. Descending to them, we continued climbing, and in a short time reached the crest. I sprang upon the summit, and another step would have precipitated me into an immense snow-field five hundred feet below. To the edge of this field was a sheer icy precipice; and then, with a gradual fall, the field sloped off for about a mile, until it struck the foot of another lower ridge. I stood on a narrow crest, about three feet in width, with an inclination of about  $20^{\circ}$  N.  $51^{\circ}$  E. As soon as I had gratified the first feeling of curiosity, I descended,

and each man ascended in his turn; for I would only allow one at a time to mount the unstable and precarious slab, which it seemed a breath would hurl into the abyss below. We mounted the barometer in the snow of the summit, and, fixing a ramrod in a crevice, unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never flag waved before. During our morning's ascent, we had met no sign of animal life except the small sparrow-like bird already mentioned. A stillness the most profound, and a terrible solitude, forced themselves constantly on the mind as the great features of the place. Here, on the summit, where the stillness was absolute, unbroken by any sound, and the solitude complete, we thought ourselves beyond the region of animated life; but while we were sitting on the rock, a solitary bee (*bromus*, the *humble-bee*) came winging his flight from the eastern valley, and lit on the knee of one of the men.

“It was a strange place—the icy rock and the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains—for a lover of warm sunshine and flowers; and we pleased ourselves with the idea that he was the first of his species to cross the mountain-barrier,—a solitary pioneer to foretell the advance of civilization. I believe that a moment's thought would have made us let him continue his way unharmed; but we



carried out the law of this country, where all animated nature seems at war, and, seizing him immediately, put him in at least a fit place,—in the leaves of a large book, among the flowers we had collected on our way. The barometer stood at 18.293, the attached thermometer at  $44^{\circ}$ ; giving for the elevation of this summit thirteen thousand five hundred and seventy feet above the Gulf of Mexico, which may be called the highest flight of the bee. It is certainly the highest known flight of that insect. From the description given by Mackenzie of the mountains where he crossed them, with that of a French officer still farther to the north, and Colonel Long's measurements to the south, joined to the opinion of the oldest traders of the country, it is presumed that this is the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains. The day was sunny and bright, but a slight shining mist hung over the lower plains, which interfered with our view of the surrounding country. On one side we overlooked innumerable lakes and streams, the spring of the Colorado of the Gulf of California, and on the other was the Wind River Valley, where were the heads of the Yellowstone branch of the Missouri; far to the north, we just could discover the snowy heads of the *Trois Têtons*, where were the source of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; and at the southern extremity

of the ridge, the peaks were plainly visible among which were some of the springs of the Nebraska or Platte River. Around us, the whole scene had one main striking feature, which was that of terrible convulsion. Parallel to its length, the ridge was split into chasms and fissures, between which rose the thin lofty walls, terminated with slender minarets and columns. According to the barometer, the little crest of the wall on which we stood was three thousand five hundred and seventy feet above that place, and two thousand seven hundred and eighty above the little lakes at the bottom, immediately at our feet. Our camp at the Two Hills (an astronomical station) bore south  $3^{\circ}$  east, which, with a bearing afterward obtained from a fixed position, enabled us to locate the peak. The bearing of the *Trois Têtons* was north  $50^{\circ}$  west, and the direction of the central bridge of the Wind River Mountains south  $39^{\circ}$  east.

“The summit-rock was gneiss, succeeded by sienitic gneiss. Sienite and feldspar succeeded in our descent to the snow-line, where we found a feldspathic granite. I had remarked that the noise produced by the explosion of our pistols had the usual degree of loudness, but was not in the least prolonged, expiring almost instantaneously. Having now made what observations our means afforded,

we proceeded to descend. We had accomplished an object of laudable ambition, and beyond the strict order of our instructions. We had climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains, and looked down upon the snow a thousand feet below, and, standing where never human foot had stood before, felt the exultation of first explorers. It was about two o'clock when we left the summit; and when we reached the bottom the sun had already sunk behind the wall and the day was drawing to a close. It would have been pleasant to have lingered here and on the summit longer; but we hurried away as rapidly as the ground would permit, for it was an object to regain our party as soon as possible, not knowing what accident the next hour might bring forth.

"We reached our deposit of provisions at night-fall. Here was not the inn which awaits the tired traveller on his return from Mont Blanc, or the orange-groves of South America, with their refreshing juices and soft fragrant air; but we found our little *cache* of dried meat and coffee undisturbed. Though the moon was bright, the road was full of precipices, and the fatigue of the day had been great. We therefore abandoned the idea of rejoining our friends, and lay down on the rock, and, in spite of the cold, slept soundly."

"August 24.—We started before sunrise, intending to breakfast at Goat Island. Mr. Preuss accompanied me, and with us were five of our best men. Here appeared no scarcity of water; and we took on board, with various instruments and baggage, provisions for ten or twelve days. We paddled down the river rapidly, for our little craft was light as a duck on the water; and the sun had been some time risen, when we heard before us a hollow roar, which we supposed to be that of a fall, of which we had heard a vague rumor, but whose exact locality no one had been able to describe to us. We were approaching a ridge, through which the river passes by a place called 'cañon,' (pronounced *canyon*,) a Spanish word signifying a piece of artillery, the barrel of a gun, or any kind of tube, and which, in this country, has been adopted to describe the passage of a river between perpendicular rocks of great height, which frequently approach each other so closely overhead as to form a kind of tunnel over the stream, which foams along below, half choked up by fallen fragments.

"We passed three cataracts in succession, where perhaps one hundred feet of smooth water intervened, and finally, with a shout of pleasure at our success, issued from our tunnel into open day beyond. We were so delighted with the perform-



ance of our boat, and so confident in her powers, that we would not have hesitated to leap a fall of ten feet with her. We put to shore for breakfast at some willows on the right bank, immediately below the mouth of the cañon; for it was now eight o'clock, and we had been working since daylight, and were all wet, fatigued, and hungry.

“We re-embarked at nine o'clock, and in about twenty minutes reached the next cañon. Landing on a rocky shore at its commencement, we ascended the ridge to reconnoitre. Portage was out of the question. So far as we could see, the jagged rocks pointed out the course of the cañon, on a winding line of seven or eight miles. It was simply a narrow, dark chasm in the rock; and here the perpendicular faces were much higher than in the previous pass,—being at this end two hundred to three hundred, and farther down, as we afterward ascertained, five hundred feet in vertical height. Our previous success had made us bold, and we determined again to run the cañon. Every thing was secured as firmly as possible, and, having divested ourselves of the greater part of our clothing, we pushed into the stream. To save our chronometer from accident, Mr. Preuss took it and attempted to proceed along the shore on the masses of rock, which in places were piled up on either side; but, after he had walked about five minutes,

every thing like shore disappeared, and the vertical wall came squarely down into the water. He therefore waited until we came up. An ugly pass lay before us. We had made fast to the stern of the boat a strong rope about fifty feet long, and three of the men clambered along among the rocks and with this rope let her down slowly through the pass. In several places high rocks lay scattered about in the channel; and in the narrows it required all our strength and skill to avoid staving the boat on the sharp points. In one of these the boat proved a little too broad, and stuck fast for an instant, while the water flew over us: fortunately, it was but for an instant, as our united strength forced her immediately through. The water swept overboard only a sextant and a pair of saddle-bags. I caught the sextant as it passed by me, but the saddle-bags became the prey of the whirlpools. We reached the place where Mr. Preuss was standing, took him on board, and, with the aid of the boat, put the men with the rope on the succeeding pile of rocks. We found this passage much worse than the previous one, and our position was rather a bad one. To go back was impossible; before us the cataract was a sheet of foam, and, shut up in the chasm by the rocks, which in some places seemed almost to meet overhead, the roar of water was deafening.

We pushed off again; but, after making a little distance, the force of the current became too great for the men on shore, and two of them let go the rope. Lajeunesse, the third man, hung on, and was jerked head-foremost into the river from a rock about twelve feet high; and down the boat shot like an arrow, Basil following us in the rapid current, and exerting all his strength to keep in mid-channel,—his head only seen occasionally, like a black spot in the white foam. How far he went I do not exactly know, but we succeeded in turning the boat into an eddy below. ‘*Cré Dieu!*’ said Basil Lajeunesse, as he arrived immediately after us; ‘*je crois bien que j’ai nagé un demi mille.*’ He had owed his life to his skill as a swimmer, and I determined to take him and the two others on board and trust to skill and fortune to reach the other end in safety. We placed ourselves on our knees, with the short paddles in our hands, the most skilful boatman being at the bow, and again we commenced our rapid descent.

“We cleared rock after rock, and shot past fall after fall, our little boat seeming to play with the cataract. We became flushed with success and familiar with the danger, and, yielding to the excitement of the occasion, broke forth together into a Canadian boat-song. Singing, or rather shouting,

we dashed along, and were, I believe, in the midst of the chorus, when the boat struck a concealed rock immediately at the foot of a fall, which whirled her over in an instant. Three of our men could not swim, and my first feeling was to assist them and save some of our effects; but a sharp concussion or two convinced me that I had not yet saved myself. A few strokes brought me into an eddy, and I landed on a pile of rocks on the left side. Looking around, I saw that Mr. Preuss had gained the shore on the same side, about twenty yards below; and a little climbing and swimming soon brought him to my side. On the opposite side, against the wall, lay the boat, bottom up; and Lambert was in the act of saving Descoteaux, whom he had grasped by the hair, and who could not swim. '*Lâche pas,*' said he, as I afterward learned,—'*lâche pas, cher frère.*' '*Crains pas,*' was the reply; '*je m'en vais mourir avant que de te lâcher.*' Such was the reply of courage and generosity in the danger. For a hundred yards below, the current was covered with floating books and boxes, bales and blankets, and scattered articles of clothing; and so strong and boiling was the stream, that even our heavy instruments, which were all in cases, kept on the surface, and the sextant, circle, and the long, black box of the telescope, were in view at once. For a moment I was



somewhat disheartened. All our books, almost every record of the journey, our journals and registers of astronomical and barometrical observations, had been lost in a moment. But it was no time to indulge in regrets; and I immediately set about endeavoring to save something from the wreck. Making ourselves understood as well as possible by signs, (for nothing could be heard in the roar of waters,) we commenced our operations. Of every thing on board, the only article that had been saved was my double-barrelled gun, which Desco-teaux had caught and clung to with drowning tenacity. The men continued down the river on the left bank. Mr. Preuss and myself descended on the side we were on; and Lajeunesse, with a paddle in his hand, jumped on the boat alone and continued down the cañon. She was now light, and cleared every bad place with much less difficulty. In a short time he was joined by Lambert, and the search was continued for about a mile and a half, which was as far as the boat could proceed in the pass.

“Here the walls were about five hundred feet high, and the fragments of rocks from above had choked the river into a hollow pass but one or two feet above the surface. Through this and the interstices of the rock the water found its way. Favored beyond

our expectations, all of our registers had been recovered, with the exception of one of my journals, which contained the notes and incidents of travel, and topographical descriptions, a number of scattered astronomical observations,—principally meridian altitudes of the sun,—and our barometrical register west of Laramie. Fortunately, our other journals contained duplicates of the most important barometrical observations which had been taken in the mountains. These, with a few scattered notes, were all that had been preserved of our meteorological observation. In addition to these, we saved the circle; and these, with a few blankets, constituted every thing that had been rescued from the waters.”

After a toilsome journey of some days, the party reached Goat Island. On the 17th of October they arrived at St. Louis, whence Mr. Fremont proceeded rapidly to Washington, in order to lay the results of his expedition before the proper authorities. Throughout the whole extent of his journey he had made barometrical observations, astronomical researches, and investigations in every department of science for which any facilities existed on his route. The results of his labors he condensed into a brief report of ninety pages,—a document which may justly be denominated as a production of superior ability and great value.

## CHAPTER II.

### INCIDENTS OF COL. FREMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION.

FREMONT'S first expedition was but a precursor and an incentive to other and more ambitious ventures. He had proved himself to be so admirably adapted to the achievement of the most important results, as an explorer of new and difficult regions, that shortly after his return to Washington he was instructed by Government to connect the explorations which he had already made, with the surveys of the Pacific coast and Columbia River, which had been completed by the Expedition of Captain Wilkes to the South Seas. A party of Americans, Canadians, and Indians, thirty-nine in number, was now placed under his command. The expedition was well provided with arms and ammunition, with camp-equipage and scientific instruments, and with an abundance of stores. The route chosen by the leader on this occasion was different from that pursued on the former: it lay along the valley of the Kansas River, to the head of the Arkansas. By this route the unsolved problem of a new road to

Oregon and California would receive special attention, and probably would attain a successful solution.

Fremont started forth from the village of Kansas in May, 1843; but scarcely had he passed the outskirts of civilization, when the ignoble spirit of jealousy, which superior merit always awakens, had already been at work at Washington, and procured the issue of orders commanding the return of the expedition. The wife of Colonel Fremont opened the letter which contained this unwelcome information, and refused to despatch it after her husband,—as she well knew the heavy and unjust blow which its contents would inflict upon his aspiring and enthusiastic spirit; nor was he aware of the existence of such an order until his return a year afterward to Washington.

All that immense region of country which intervened between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific still remained in a very great measure a *terra incognita*, and Fremont resolved to throw it open to the acquaintance of mankind. He arrived at the tide-water region of the Columbia River in November. Here was situated a station of the British Hudson Bay Fur Company; and, while delaying here a short period to recruit his company, he formed his future plans. He resolved to cross the



great unknown region by following a southeast line from the Lower Columbia to the Upper Colorado of the Gulf of California. He started forth in the commencement of winter, and soon deep snows impeded the progress of the expedition. He travelled over vast and unknown wastes, through rugged mountains and inhospitable deserts. For hundreds of miles the daring adventurers climbed amid dangerous precipices and slippery crags. During eleven months they were never out of sight of the snow. Hostile Indians frequently hovered around their path. The members of the expedition were often overcome by the perils and sufferings of the way. Sometimes a heavily-laden mule slipped from the verge of some dizzy cliff, and, after tumbling down for hundreds of feet between unfathomable gorges, was dashed to pieces at the bottom. The slow and mournful procession of feeble and starving skeletons, both of men and beasts, crawled like a disabled serpent along the dangerous heights and bridle-paths of their mountain way, surrounded by the deep snows of the Sierra Nevada, and by all the awful incidents of a wintry march amid the rudest fastnesses and solitudes of nature. After a perilous journey of many months, the expedition arrived at Sutter's Settlement, in the Valley of the Sacramento. Thence they proceeded to San Joa-

q. n. During the progress of their journey they explored the Great Salt Lake, the Utah Lake, the Little Salt Lake, and the mountains of the Sierra Nevada. During the summer portion of their journey they had navigated rapid and dangerous rivers with frail boats obtained from the neighboring Indians. They had travelled three thousand five hundred miles by land and water, and had explored the vast domains of Oregon and Northern California. Exposure and suffering had carried off some of the boldest and strongest of the men; but the gallant leader conducted the larger portion of his company in safety to the boundaries of California, and thus completed a journey which, for the display of intrepid endurance, of unconquerable determination, and of skilful management, is not surpassed by the achievements of the most noted conquerors or adventurers of modern times.

Some of the thrilling incidents of this expedition are thus narrated by its intrepid commander:

*“September ’8.—A calm, clear day, with a sunrise-temperature of 41°. In view of our present enterprise, a part of the equipment of the boat had been made to consist in three air-tight bags, about three feet long, and capable each of containing five gallons. These had been filled with water the night before, and were now placed in the boat, with our*

blankets and instruments, consisting of a sextant, telescope, spy-glass, thermometer, and barometer.

“We left the camp at sunrise, and had a very pleasant voyage down the river, in which there was generally eight or ten feet of water, deepening as we neared the mouth in the latter part of the day. In the course of the morning we discovered that two of the cylinders leaked so much as to require one man constantly at the bellows, to keep them sufficiently full of air to support the boat. Although we had made a very early start, we loitered so much on the way—stopping every now and then, and floating silently along, to get a shot at a goose or a duck—that it was late in the day when we reached the outlet. The river here divided into several branches, filled with fluvials, and so very shallow that it was with difficulty we could get the boat along, being obliged to get out and wade. We encamped on a low point among rushes and young willows, where there was a quantity of drift-wood, which served for our fires. The evening was mild and clear: we made a pleasant bed of the young willows; and geese and ducks enough had been killed for an abundant supper at night and for breakfast the next morning. The stillness of the night was enlivened by millions of water-fowl.

Latitude (by observation)  $41^{\circ} 11' 26''$ , and longitude  $112^{\circ} 11' 30''$ .

“*September 9.*—The day was clear and calm; the thermometer at sunrise at  $49^{\circ}$ . As usual with the trappers on the eve of any enterprise, our people had made dreams, and theirs happened to be a bad one,—one which always preceded evil,—and consequently they looked very gloomy this morning; but we hurried through our breakfast in order to make an early start and have all the day before us for our adventure. The channel in a short distance became so shallow that our navigation was at an end, being merely a sheet of soft mud, with a few inches of water, and sometimes none at all, forming the low-water shore of the lake. All this place was absolutely covered with flocks of screaming plover. We took off our clothes, and, getting overboard, commenced dragging the boat,—making, by this operation, a very curious trail, and a very disagreeable smell in stirring up the mud, as we sank above the knee at every step. The water here was still fresh, with only an insipid and disagreeable taste, probably derived from the bed of fetid mud. After proceeding in this way about a mile, we came to a small black ridge on the bottom, beyond which the water became suddenly salt, beginning gradually to deepen, and the bottom was sandy and firm. It



was a remarkable division, separating the fresh waters of the rivers from the briny water of the lake, which was entirely *saturated* with common salt. Pushing our little vessel across the narrow boundary, we sprang on board, and at length were afloat on the waters of the unknown sea.

“We did not steer for the mountainous islands, but directed our course toward a lower one, which, it had been decided, we should first visit, the summit of which was formed like the crater at the upper end of Bear River Valley. So long as we could touch the bottom with our paddles, we were very gay; but gradually, as the water deepened, we became more still in our frail bateau of gum cloth distended with air and with pasted seams. Although the day was very calm, there was a considerable swell on the lake; and there were white patches of foam on the surface, which were slowly moving to the southward, indicating the set of a current in that direction, and recalling the recollection of the whirlpool-stories. The water continued to deepen as we advanced,—the lake becoming almost transparently clear, of an extremely beautiful bright-green color; and the spray, which was thrown into the boat and over our clothes, was directly converted into a crust of common salt, which covered also our hands and arms. ‘Captain,’ said Carson, who for

some time had been looking suspiciously at some whitening appearances outside the nearest island, 'what are those yonder? won't you just take a look with the glass?' We ceased paddling for a moment, and found them to be the caps of the waves that were beginning to break under the force of a strong breeze that was coming up the lake.

"The form of the boat seemed to be an admirable one, and it rode on the waves like a water-bird; but, at the same time, it was slow in its progress. When we were little more than half-way across the reach, two of the divisions between the cylinders gave way, and it required the constant use of the bellows to keep in a sufficient quantity of air. For a long time we scarcely seemed to approach our island; but gradually we worked across the rougher sea of the open channel, into the smoother water under the lee of the island, and began to discover that what we took for a long row of pelicans ranged on the beach were only low cliffs whitened with salt by the spray of the waves; and about noon we reached the shore, the transparency of the water enabling us to see the bottom at a considerable depth.

"It was a handsome broad beach where we landed, behind which the hill, into which the island was gathered, rose somewhat abruptly; and a point of rock at one end enclosed it in a sheltering way; and,

as there was an abundance of drift-wood along the shore, it offered us a pleasant encampment. We did not suffer our fragile boat to touch the sharp rocks, but, getting overboard, discharged the baggage, and, lifting it gently out of the water, carried it to the upper part of the beach, which was composed of very small fragments of rock.

“Among the successive banks of the beach, formed by the action of the waves, our attention, as we approached the island, had been attracted by one, ten to twenty feet in breadth, of a dark-brown color. Being more closely examined, this was found to be composed, to the depth of seven or eight and twelve inches, entirely of the *larvæ* of insects, or, in common language, of the skins of worms, about the size of a grain of oats, which had been washed up by the waters of the lake.

“The cliffs and masses of rock along the shore were whitened by an incrustation of salt where the waves dashed up against them; and the evaporating water, which had been left in holes and hollows on the surface of the rocks, was covered with a crust of salt about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. It appeared strange that, in the midst of this grand reservoir, one of our greatest wants lately had been salt. Exposed to be more perfectly dried in the sun, this became very white and fine, having the

usual flavor of very excellent common salt, without any foreign taste; but only a little was collected for present use, as there was in it a number of small black insects.

“Carrying with us the barometer and other instruments, in the afternoon we ascended to the highest point of the island,—a bare, rocky peak, eight hundred feet above the lake. Standing on the summit, we enjoyed an extended view of the lake, enclosed in a basin of rugged mountains, which sometimes left marshy flats and extensive bottoms between them and the shore, and in other places came directly down into the water with bold and precipitous bluffs. Following with our glasses the irregular shores, we searched for some indications of a communication with other bodies of water or the entrance of other rivers; but the distance was so great that we could make out nothing with certainty. To the southward, several peninsular mountains, three thousand or four thousand feet high, entered the lake, appearing, so far as the distance and our position enabled us to determine, to be connected by flats and low ridges with the mountains in the rear. These are probably the islands usually indicated on maps of this region as entirely detached from the shore. The season of our operations was when the waters were at their



lowest stage. At the season of high waters in the spring, it is probable that the marshes and low grounds are overflowed, and the surface of the lake considerably greater. In several places the view was of unlimited extent,—here and there a rocky islet appearing above the water at a great distance; and beyond, every thing was vague and undefined. As we looked over the vast expanse of water spread out beneath us, and strained our eyes along the silent shores over which hung so much doubt and uncertainty, and which were so full of interest to us, I could hardly repress the almost irresistible desire to continue our exploration; but the lengthening snow on the mountains was a plain indication of the advancing season, and our frail linen boat appeared so insecure that I was unwilling to trust our lives to the uncertainties of the lake. I therefore unwillingly resolved to terminate our survey here, and remain satisfied for the present with what we had been able to add to the unknown geography of the region. We felt pleasure also in remembering that we were the first who, in traditionary annals of the country, had visited the islands, and broken, with the cheerful sound of human voices, the long solitude of the place. From the point where we were standing, the ground fell off on every side to the water, giving us a perfect view of the island,

which is twelve or thirteen miles in circumference, being simply a rocky hill, on which there is neither water nor trees of any kind, although the *Fremontia vermicularis*, which was in great abundance, might easily be mistaken for timber at a distance."

## CHAPTER III.

### COL. FREMONT'S THIRD EXPEDITION, AND ITS RESULTS.

COLONEL FREMONT spent the remainder of 1844 in preparing for the press the reports of the expedition which he had just completed. Early in the ensuing spring he commenced his third great expedition, the object of which was to explore the interior region known as the Great Basin, and the *maritime* country of Oregon and California. Some months were spent by him in examining the head-waters of the great rivers in that region, which flow in different directions into both oceans. In October, 1845, he again reached the Great Salt Lake. He encountered many strange adventures in exploring the country which has since become the familiar home of the disciples of Joseph Smith, the Mormon impostor. He travelled thence southward toward the confines of California, and visited the tract which has since become well known under the title of Mariposas. At length he reached the confines of the "Great California Valley," in which is situated the city of Monterey. Here he was met by an unexpected

order from General Castro, the Mexican governor of the territory, which had not yet become annexed to the American Confederacy, denouncing him and his associates as robbers and highwaymen, and commanding them to advance no farther into California. Fremont's party then amounted to sixty men, who were furnished with two hundred horses and an abundance of ammunition. Castro immediately assembled a body of troops to attack Fremont, in a stronghold to which he had retired in a mountain overlooking Monterey. Here he fortified himself so effectually, and presented so formidable a front, that Castro changed his purpose and withdrew his forces. But Fremont had now conceived the idea of exploring the territory of the Wah-lah-math Indians and the Tla-math lakes, in the interior of Oregon, which seemed to offer inviting inducements to lead to their further examination.

On the 8th of May, Fremont commenced his journey through this romantic region filled with lofty mountains, with placid lakes, with flowing rivers, and with fertile plains. One of the incidents connected with this portion of his adventures deserves to be more minutely detailed. As Fremont and his party rode along the base of an unfrequented mountain, suddenly two horsemen appeared, approaching in the path before them. They were portion of a



guard of six American soldiers who were conducting the bearer of Government despatches to the United States consul at Monterey; who had also been intrusted with some letters and papers for Fremont. These two men informed the latter that the five persons whom they had left behind were in very great peril of attack from the hostile Indians; and that they themselves had hastened forward for assistance. Fremont immediately determined to advance to their rescue. With ten picked men he rode sixty miles in a day, and at evening he fortunately met Lieutenant Gillespie, the object of his search, still slowly advancing, and still unharmed. The letters which he conveyed to Fremont ordered him to return to California and there labor to counteract the schemes which the British Government was then making to obtain the annexation of that golden territory to the British crown. These letters were accompanied with others from his wife and mother, which were still more welcome to him.

That night which brought to the bold adventurer, amid the distant and unknown solitudes of those primeval mountains, such cherished missives of remembrance and affection from those whom he loved so well, was fraught with an adventure of rare and solemn interest, and one which wellnigh proved to be his last. The camp was pitched upon the shore

of one of the placid lakes which lie embosomed in the midst of the mountains. The horses were picketed, as usual, with long halters, near at hand, to feed upon the grass. The men, fourteen in number, were distributed in companies of three around different camp-fires. A calm clear night settled down over the wide face of nature; and Colonel Fremont permitted all the men, wearied by the protracted and severe journey of the day, to repose without appointing a guard. As the night advanced, he himself, seated by one of the fires, perused with insatiable avidity the letters from his family which he had received. The silence of the grave pervaded the vast solitude around him. Toward midnight he heard a sudden movement among the horses, which gave evidence that some danger was near; for it is true that the acute instincts of these brute creatures, under such circumstances, possess a strange degree of accuracy and truthfulness, which experienced travellers always treat with consideration. Colonel Fremont arose from his seat and went forth to the horses, to discover the cause of their alarm. He searched in vain. The dark, frowning forest around appeared to be tenanted by no living thing; and the light of the moon, as she smiled in silent majesty in the far-off heavens, seemed to render all concealment and hidden danger impossible, even in the

leafy thickets of the trees. He returned to his camp-fire, and apprehensive of no danger, he refused in consequence of their long march to awaken any of the men. Soon wearied nature began to assert her claims even over his vigorous frame, and he lay down to sleep. It is said to have been the second time only, during the whole progress of his life, in which he failed to appoint a watch during the hours of darkness. Suddenly a heavy groan aroused the acute ear of Kit Carson. It was the expiring moan of a man through whose brain the swift tomahawk was cleaving its resistless way. Carson in an instant sprang to his feet, and in a voice of thunder awoke the whole camp. They had been attacked by a band of Tla-math Indians, who had followed the company of Lieutenant Gillespie during the entire day, in order during the hours of slumber to waylay and destroy them. Already the bloody hatchet and the winged arrow had done fearful work. Basil Lajeunesse, a bold and enterprising young Frenchman, a friend and favorite of Fremont, was already dead. An Iowa Indian had also expired, and a Delaware Indian was dying. It was the last groan of this unhappy victim which had so opportunely aroused the sleeping camp. The lonely adventurers, having grasped their ready arms, fought with the ferocity of lions

and hurled swift destruction against their assailants. Many of the latter were slain; and among the corpses was found, on the following day, that of the same Tla-math chief who but a short time before had given Lieutenant Gillespie a salmon in token of amity. When the morning dawned, Colonel Fremont buried his dead so as best to conceal their remains from violation, and then returned to the rest of his company, carrying the wounded with him. The escape of Fremont from death on this occasion was very narrow; and he would have been slain when he ventured forth to examine the horses, had not the savages deemed it advisable to wait until a more wholesale slaughter could be made of the unconscious and defenceless travellers.\*

Colonel Fremont, in obedience to the instructions conveyed to him by Lieutenant Gillespie, immediately returned to California. He arrived in the Valley of the Sacramento in May, 1846, and found the country in an alarming and critical situation. The Americans who then resided there were constantly assailed, and many of them had been murdered. The public domain was in process of transfer to British subjects, and the territory of California was

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\* *Vide* the author's *Life of John C. Fremont*, published by Miller, Orton & Co., New York and Auburn, 1846, pp. 25, 26.



about to be subjected to British protection and British sovereignty. All the American settlers immediately joined Fremont's party. The Mexicans were under the influence of the Picos,—three brothers of great prominence and distinction in the country; under whose guidance the independence of California from Mexican rule was declared. One of the Picos had been elected the first governor of the enfranchised territory. This party was supported by the body of Mexican and Californian troops who were commanded by General Castro. Actual hostilities soon began between the force of Colonel Fremont and that of General Castro. Twelve of Fremont's men captured fourteen Mexicans and two hundred horses on the 11th of June. It was the first collision which took place. The next engagement was at Sonoma, where Fremont captured nine brass cannon, two hundred and fifty stand of arms, some men, and some munitions of war. Castro then fled toward the capital, Cuidad de los Angeles. He was rapidly pursued by Fremont with one hundred and sixty mounted riflemen. It was a hot chase of four hundred miles. When Fremont arrived at the capital, he found it deserted by all the civil and military authorities; the flag of Californian independence was hauled down and that of the United States was hoisted and

unfurled to the breeze. Commodore Stockton took possession of the whole country as a province and conquest of the United States; and he appointed Colonel Fremont the governor of the territory, to assume the functions of his office as soon as he himself should return to his squadron. Thus, during the short period of sixty days from the commencement to the conclusion of hostilities, that rich and golden gem was secured and firmly fixed in the diadem which now graces the brow of the Genius of American liberty.

Commodore Stockton, in conferring such high powers upon Colonel Fremont, entailed upon the latter the most serious and disagreeable consequences, which ultimately resulted in a court-martial, in an unjust conviction, and in the abandonment of the army by Fremont as a profession. There was a conflict of jurisdiction as well as a bitter personal rivalry between Commodore Stockton and General Kearney, as to the question of the supreme authority in California. Each branch of the service claimed the supremacy in the person of its respective chief. Fremont, in the exercise of his functions as Governor of California, was compelled to select the one or the other of the rival commanders as his superior. After carefully examining what seemed to be the best evidence and

counsel in the case, he concluded to recognise the superior claims of Commodore Stockton, and obeyed his orders accordingly. This course of conduct highly incensed General Kearney, although the latter on several occasions had recognised the title and authority of Colonel Fremont. During the progress of the dispute, General Kearney ordered Fremont not to reorganize the California battalion, and claimed for himself the command of the entire California army. Commodore Stockton refused to yield that command; but, after a protracted and angry contest between the principals, fresh instructions arrived from Washington, which settled the question and gave the supreme military command of the territory to General Kearney. On the return of the latter to the United States in June, 1847, he ordered Colonel Fremont to accompany him. When the party arrived at Fort Leavenworth, on the 22d of August, Fremont was placed under arrest by General Kearney, and thus conducted to Washington for the purpose of being tried by a court-martial on three charges,—mutiny, disobedience of the lawful command of a superior officer, and conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline. The trial continued during November and December, 1847, and January, 1848. It resulted in a verdict of guilty on each of the charges, and the de-

pendant was sentenced to be dismissed from the service.

The following extract from the narrative of a journey of eight hundred miles, performed in eight days by Colonel Fremont, will illustrate the nature of some of his California adventures:—

“It was at daybreak on the morning of the 22d of March that the party set out from La Ciudad de los Angeles, (‘the City of the Angels,’) in the southern part of Upper California, to proceed, in the shortest time, to Monterey, on the Pacific coast, distant full four hundred miles. The way is over a mountainous country, much of it uninhabited, with no other road than a trace, and many defiles to pass, particularly the maritime defile of *El Rincon*, or Punto Gordo, fifteen miles in extent, made by the jutting of a precipitous mountain into the sea, and which can only be passed when the tide is out and the sea calm, and then in many places through the waves. The towns of Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo, and occasional ranches, are the principal inhabited places on the route. Each of the party had three horses,—nine in all,—to take their turns under the saddle. The six loose horses ran ahead, without bridle or halter, and required some attention to keep to the track. When wanted for a change,—say at the distance of twenty miles,—they



were caught by the *lasso*, thrown either by Don Jesus or the servant Jacob, who, though born in Washington, in his long expeditions with Colonel Fremont had become as expert as a Mexican with the *lasso*, as sure as the mountaineer with the rifle, equal to either on horse or foot, and always a lad of courage and fidelity.

“None of the horses were shod, that being a practice unknown to the Californians. The most usual gait was a sweeping gallop. The first day they ran one hundred and twenty-five miles, passing the San Fernando Mountain, the defile of the Rincon, several other mountains, and slept at the hospitable ranch of Don Thomas Robberis, beyond the town of Santa Barbara. The only fatigue complained of in this day’s ride was in Jacob’s right arm, made tired by throwing the *lasso* and using it as a whip to keep the loose horses to the track.

“The next day they made another one hundred and twenty-five miles, passing the formidable mountain of Santa Barbara and counting upon it the skeletons of some fifty horses, part of near double that number which perished in the crossing of that terrible mountain by the California battalion on Christmas-day, 1846, amidst a raging tempest and a deluge of rain and cold more killing than that of the Sierra Nevada,—the day of severest suffering,

say Fremont and his men, that they have ever passed. At sunset the party stopped to sup with the friendly Captain Dana, and at nine at night San Luis Obispo was reached, the home of Don Jesus, and where an affecting reception awaited Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont, in consequence of an incident which occurred there that history will one day record; and he was detained till ten o'clock in the morning, receiving the visits of the inhabitants, (mothers and children included,) taking a breakfast of honor, and waiting for a relief of fresh horses to be brought in from the surrounding country. Here the nine horses from Los Angeles were left and eight others taken in their place, and a Spanish boy added to the party to assist in managing the loose horses.

“Proceeding at the usual gait till eight at night, and having made some seventy miles, Don Jesus, who had spent the night before with his family and friends, and probably with but little sleep, became fatigued, and proposed a halt for a few hours. It was in the valley of the Salinas (‘salt river,’ called *Buena Ventura* in the old maps) and the haunt of marauding Indians. For safety during their repose the party turned off the trace, issued through a *cañon* into a thick wood, and lay down, the horses being put to grass at a short distance, with the

Spanish boy in the saddle to watch. Sleep, when commenced, was too sweet to be easily given up, and it was half-way between midnight and day when the sleepers were aroused by an *estampedo* among the horses and the calls of the boy. The cause of the alarm was soon found: not Indians, but white bears,—this valley being their great resort, and the place where Colonel Fremont and thirty-five of his men encountered some hundred of them the summer before, killing thirty upon the ground.

“The character of these bears is well known, and the bravest hunters do not like to meet them without the advantage of numbers. On discovering the enemy, Colonel Fremont felt for his pistols; but Don Jesus desired him to lie still, saying that ‘people could scare bears,’ and immediately halloed to them in Spanish, and they went off. Sleep went off also; and the recovery of the horses frightened by the bears, building a rousing fire, making a breakfast from the hospitable supplies of San Luis Obispo, occupied the party till daybreak, when the journey was resumed eighty miles, and the afternoon brought the party to Monterey.

“The next day, in the afternoon, the party set out on their return, and, the two horses rode by Colonel Fremont from San Luis Obispo being a

present to him from Don Jesus, he (Don Jesus) desired to make an experiment of what one of them could do. They were brothers, on a grass younger than the other, both of the same color, (cinnamon,) and hence called *el cañalo* or *los cañalos*, ('the cinnamon' or 'the cinnamons.') The elder was to be taken for the trial, and the journey commenced upon him at leaving Monterey, the afternoon well advanced. Thirty miles under the saddle done that evening and the party stopped for the night. In the morning the elder cañalo was again under the saddle for Colonel Fremont, and for ninety miles he carried him without a change and without apparent fatigue. It was still thirty miles to San Luis Obispo, where the night was to be passed; and Don Jesus insisted that cañalo could do it, and so said the horse by his looks and action. But Colonel Fremont would not put him to the trial, and, shifting the saddle to the younger brother, the elder was turned loose to run the remaining thirty miles without a rider. He did so, immediately taking the lead and keeping it all the way, and entering San Luis in a sweeping gallop, nostrils distended, snuffing the air, and neighing with exultation at his return to his native pastures,—his younger brother all the time at the head of the horses under the saddle, bearing on his bit and held in by his rider. The



whole eight horses made their one hundred and twenty miles each that day, (after thirty the evening before,) the elder cinnamon making ninety of his under the saddle that day, besides thirty under the saddle the evening before; nor was there the least doubt that he would have done the whole distance in the same time if he had continued under the saddle.

“After a hospitable detention of another half-day at San Luis Obispo, the party set out for Los Angeles on the same nine horses which they had rode from that place, and made the ride back in about the same time they had made it up,—namely, at the rate of one hundred and twenty-five miles a day.

“On this ride the grass on the road was the food for the horses. At Monterey they had barley; but these horses—meaning those *trained and domesticated*, as the cañalos were—eat almost any thing of vegetable food, or even drink, that their master uses, by whom they are petted and caressed and rarely sold. Bread, fruit, sugar, coffee, and even wine, (like the Persian horses,) they take from the hand of their master, and obey with like docility his slightest intimation. A tap of the whip on the saddle springs them into action; the check of a thread-rein (on the Spanish bit) would stop them.”

The following letter will illustrate the difficulty

of Colonel Fremont's position between the rival commanders in California:—

“CIUDAD DE LOS ANGELES, January 27, 1847.

“SIR:—I have the honor to be in the receipt of your favor of last night, in which I am directed to suspend the execution of orders which, in my capacity of military commandant of this territory, I had received from Commodore Stockton, governor and commander-in-chief in California. I avail myself of an early hour this morning to make such a reply as the brief time allowed for reflection will enable me.

“I found Commodore Stockton in possession of the country, exercising the functions of military commandant and civil governor, as early as July of last year; and shortly thereafter I received from him the commission of military commandant, the duties of which I immediately entered upon, and have continued to exercise to the present moment.

“I found also, on my arrival at this place some three or four days since, Commodore Stockton still exercising the functions of civil and military governor, with the same apparent deference to his rank on the part of all officers (including yourself) as he maintained and required when he assumed them in July last.

"I learned also, in conversation with you, that on the march from San Diego, recently, to this place, you entered upon and discharged duties implying an acknowledgment on your part of supremacy to Commodore Stockton.

"I feel, therefore,—with great deference to your professional and personal character,—constrained to say that until you and Commodore Stockton adjust between yourselves the question of rank,—where I respectfully think the difficulty belongs,—I shall have to report and receive orders, as heretofore, from the commodore.

"With considerations of high regard, I am, sir, your obedient servant," &c.

## CHAPTER IV

### COLONEL FREMONT'S FOURTH EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

THE majority of the court which tried the charges preferred against Colonel Fremont recommended the defendant to the clemency of the President of the United States, in consequence of the difficult position in which he had been placed between two rival officers in the United States service, and in view, also, of the great and meritorious services which he had previously rendered to the cause of topographical and geographical science. President Polk refused to confirm the finding of the court on the first charge of mutiny, but sustained it in reference to the other two charges. At the same time, he remitted the penalty of dismissal from the service, ordered Fremont to be released from arrest, and to report himself for duty. Upon the receipt of this order from the President, Fremont immediately sent in his resignation as lieutenant-colonel in the army of the United States, and retired from the service. His reason for so doing was, that by accept-



ing the clemency of the President he would virtually acknowledge the justice of the verdict of the court which had examined his case and had condemned him. Thus, on the 15th of May, 1848, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, Colonel Fremont abandoned the military profession, and was thenceforth free to commence a new career in life, more congenial to his tastes, and more productive of noble, elevating, and remunerative results. He had already attained the first position, and the highest eminence, as an explorer of new and dangerous realms. His military and political services had merely suspended, and not concluded, his labors in this high sphere of intellectual and physical endeavor. He still wished to demonstrate more completely the feasibility of the grand idea which had inflamed and guided all his previous exertions,—the practicability of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific States of this Union by a public highway of secure, direct, and facile travel. This important and difficult achievement he still might accomplish; his life had yet a worthy and an all-absorbing aim to occupy him; he abhorred the idea of permitting his great faculties to rust and corrode either in ignoble indolence or in vain regrets. He was encouraged to persevere by the high praises which he had already received from the most distinguished and illustrious representatives of science

in the world. The venerable Nestor of knowledge in modern times, Alexander von Humboldt, in sending to him the "great golden medal for progress in the sciences" from the King of Prussia, had addressed him in such language as this:—"You have displayed a noble courage in distant expeditions, braved all the dangers of cold and famine, enriched all the branches of the natural sciences, and illustrated a vast country which was almost entirely unknown to us." The Geographical Society at Berlin, at the same time, had chosen him an honorary member, at the suggestion of the illustrious geographer, Charles Ritter; and from the Royal Geographical Society of England he also received, about the same period, the Founder's Medal. These and other most honorable evidences of the fact that his former labors had been properly appreciated induced Fremont now to plan and execute his *fourth* great expedition of discovery across the continent, at his own expense; which proved to be the most difficult, dangerous, and disastrous of all his adventurous journeys. This result was attributable not to any defect or negligence of his own, but to the ignorance or the perfidy of his guides.

Fremont commenced his fourth exploring expedition on the 19th of October, 1848. He had determined to select his route along the head-

waters of the Rio Grande. The reasons which conducted him to this conclusion were, because that route had never yet been examined; and because he had reason to believe that a practicable pass might be discovered through the mountains at the head of that river. Unusual dangers attended this journey; for it lay through the territories of the hostile Apaches, Utahs, Navahoes, Camanches, and other savage tribes of Indians, who were then engaged in actual hostilities against the United States. The great dangers and difficulties of this journey, in fact, rendered it one of the most remarkable expeditions of modern times. The company consisted of thirty-three picked men, who were provided with one hundred and twenty mules, and with the necessary ammunition and stores. By the end of November, the adventurers arrived at the Pueblos, on the Upper Arkansas, at the foot of the sierra along which lay his route. His direct course was to effect a passage across the difficult and extensive ranges of mountains which now lay before him, and which stretched their multitudinous heads of snow above him far away in the distance. By the aid of his telescope, Fremont thought he could discover the gap or depression in the mountains which, as the most experienced hunters and explorers of the West assured him, marked the locality of the pass through

which his journey lay. He was confirmed in this opinion—which afterward proved to be totally erroneous—by the judgment of the chief guide, whom he had selected and employed at Pueblo San Carlos.

At length, on the 30th of November, the company commenced to ascend the mountains. They were impeded by the deep snow, and were often assailed by wintry storms. On the first day they reached an elevation at which all vegetation ceased: they were unable to obtain any wood for fire, and the cold was intense. During the night which ensued, the mules were saved from being frozen to death only by the most strenuous and unremitting exertions of the men. The snow still fell; and the next day they were able to advance only by sending forward a division with mauls, for the purpose of breaking down a road in the snow for those who followed. At length, after a toilsome and painful journey of many hours, the summit of the mountain was reached. It was covered with vast masses of ice and rocks. A more gloomy and repulsive scene could not be imagined than that which there presented itself. The winds swept through the surrounding gorges and frozen abysses with appalling fury; and, as from his lofty perch the bold leader of the expedition gazed around him, he beheld nothing.



as far as the eye could reach, except the snowy summits and the dismal wastes of the mountains stretching away, and lying in cold and cheerless desolation against the whole circuit of the wintry heavens.

Fremont soon discovered that the guide had missed the real pass. Dangers rapidly thickened around the adventurers; the cold was becoming insupportable; a hundred and twenty mules, huddled together from the natural instinct of self-preservation, were still unable to resist the cold by their mutual warmth, and many of them fell over dead, frozen stiff as they stood. The situation of the party was now perilous in the extreme. They were distant at least ten days' journey from the nearest New Mexican settlement. Fremont immediately despatched thither a guide with three picked men, for the purpose of obtaining supplies of food and succor. Twenty days were allowed them for the performance of this duty, while the remainder of the party remained with Fremont in the snowy solitudes of the mountains.

After waiting sixteen days for their return, Fremont, accompanied by three persons, overcome by anxiety and impatience, started forth on foot to meet them. The snow was waist-deep. After travelling six days, Fremont came upon the camp of the party. He found the chief guide dead: he had

perished from fatigue and exhaustion. His three comrades had subsisted for several days upon his corpse, which had already been considerably devoured. Fremont gave them what relief he could, and resumed his journey toward the New Mexican settlements. He had not progressed far before he met the welcome trail of Indians. He pursued it down the Del Norte, which was then frozen over as firmly as a rock; and after some time he discovered a solitary Indian attempting to obtain water from an air-hole. He was soon surrounded and taken. He proved to be the son of a Utah chief whom Fremont on a former occasion, several years before, had met at a distant point. He became Fremont's guide, conducted him to the nearest Indian settlements, gave him four horses, and furnished the necessary provisions. Fremont, having thus recruited, proceeded to Taos, and in the hospitable house of his old friend Kit Carson he obtained further supplies, which he immediately sent to his party who yet remained in the mountains. One-third of them had already perished. Some of the survivors had their feet half burned in the fire which had been kindled to thaw and invigorate them; others were crippled in various ways. Fremont's situation was still gloomy in the extreme. His whole outfit was lost; his men were all either

dead or disabled; he himself was penniless in a distant and strange region. Yet he did not despond; but he exhibited, on this desperate and memorable occasion, a degree of unconquerable heroism which, if exhibited on some great field prominent in the world's eye, would have surrounded him with the halo of a world's admiration. He aroused his utmost energies. He obtained, by various means, another outfit and a new company of men. In a few days, horses, provisions, arms, ammunition, all were acquired by his indomitable perseverance and activity, and he resumed his perilous march. He now chose to pass through the mountains by the Gila and the Paso del Norte, entering California at the Agua Caliente, and travelling thence to Los Angeles, the capital of the Territory.

The following letter written by Colonel Fremont to his wife furnishes an admirable description of some of the vicissitudes of this memorable journey:

“TAOS, NEW MEXICO, January 27, 1849.

“MY VERY DEAR WIFE:—I write to you from the house of our good friend Carson. This morning a cup of chocolate was brought to me while yet in bed. To an overworn, overworked, much fatigued, and starving traveller, these little luxuries of the world offer an interest which in your comfortable home it is not possible for you to conceive. While in the

enjoyment of this luxury, then, I pleased myself in imagining how gratified you would be in picturing me here in Kit's care, whom you will fancy constantly occupied and constantly uneasy in endeavoring to make me comfortable. How little could you have dreamed of this while he was enjoying the pleasant hospitality of your father's house! The furthest thing then from your mind was that he would ever repay it to me here.

“But I have now the unpleasant task of telling you how I came here. I had much rather write you some rambling letters in unison with the repose in which I feel inclined to indulge, and talk to you about the future, with which I am already busily occupied,—about my arrangements for getting speedily down into the more pleasant climate of the Lower Del Norte and rapidly through into California, and my plans when I get there. I have an almost invincible repugnance to going back among scenes where I have endured much suffering, and for all the incidents and circumstances of which I feel a strong aversion. But as clear information is absolutely necessary to you, and to your father more particularly still, I will give you the story now, instead of waiting to tell it to you in California. But I write in the great hope that you will not receive this



letter. When it reaches Washington you may be on your way to California.

“Former letters have made you acquainted with our journey so far as Bent’s Fort, and from report you will have heard the circumstances of our departure from the Upper Pueblo of the Arkansas. We left that place about the 25th of November, with upwards of a hundred good mules and one hundred and thirty bushels of shelled corn, intended to support our animals across the snow of the high mountains and down to the lower parts of the Grand River tributaries, where usually the snow forms no obstacle to winter travelling. At the Pueblo I had engaged as a guide an old trapper well known as ‘Bill Williams,’ and who had spent some twenty-five years of his life in trapping various parts of the Rocky Mountains. The error of our journey was committed in engaging this man. He proved never to have in the least known, or entirely to have forgotten, the whole region of country through which we were to pass. We occupied more than half a month in making the journey of a few days, blundering a tortuous way through deep snow which already began to choke up the passes, for which we were obliged to waste time in searching. About the 11th of December we found ourselves at the North of the Del Norte Cañon, where that river issues from the St.

John's Mountain, one of the highest, most rugged and impracticable of all the Rocky Mountain ranges, inaccessible to trappers and hunters even in the summer-time. Across the point of this elevated range our guide conducted us, and, having still great confidence in his knowledge, we pressed onward with fatal resolution. Even along the river-bottoms the snow was already belly-deep for the mules, frequently snowing in the valley and almost constantly in the mountains. The cold was extraordinary,—at the warmest hours of the day (between one and two) the thermometer, (Fahrenheit,) standing in the shade of only a tree-trunk, at zero; the day sunshiny, with a moderate breeze. We pressed up toward the summit, the snow deepening, and in four or five days reached the naked ridges which lie above the timbered country, and which form the dividing grounds between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Along these naked ridges it storms nearly all winter, and the winds sweep across them with remorseless fury. On our first attempt to cross we encountered a *pouderié* (dry snow driven thick through the air by violent wind, and in which objects are visible only at a short distance,) and were driven back, having some ten or twelve men variously frozen, face, hands, or feet. The guide became high being frozen to death here, and dead mules

were already lying about the fires. Meantime, it snowed steadily. The next day we made mauls, and, beating a road or trench through the snow, crossed the crest in defiance of the *pouderi * and encamped immediately below in the edge of the timber. The trail showed as if a defeated party had passed by,—pack-saddles and packs, scattered articles of clothing, and dead mules strewed along. A continuance of stormy weather paralyzed all movement. We were encamped somewhere about twelve thousand feet above the sea. Westward, the country was buried in deep snow. It was impossible to advance, and to turn back was equally impracticable. We were overtaken by sudden and inevitable ruin. It so happened that the only places where any grass could be had were the extreme summit of the ridges, where the sweeping winds kept the rocky ground bare and the snow could not lie. Below these, animals could not get about, the snow being deep enough to bury them. Here, therefore, in the full violence of the storms, we were obliged to keep our animals. They could not be moved either way. It was instantly apparent that we should lose every animal.

“I determined to recross the mountain more toward the open country, and haul or pack the baggage (by men) down to the Del Norte. With

great labor the baggage was transported across the crest to the head-springs of a little stream leading to the main river. A few days were sufficient to destroy our fine band of mules. They generally kept huddled together, and, as they froze, one would be seen to tumble down, and the snow would cover him: sometimes they would break off and rush down toward the timber, until they were stopped by the deep snow, where they were soon hidden by the *pouderié*. The courage of the men failed fast: in fact, I have never seen men so soon discouraged by misfortune as we were on this occasion; but, as you know, the party was not constituted like the former ones. But among those who deserve to be honorably mentioned, and who behaved like what they were,—men of the old exploring party,—were Godey, King, and Taplin; and first of all Godey. In this situation, I determined to send in a party to the Spanish settlements of New Mexico for provisions and mules to transport our baggage to Taos. With economy, and after we should leave the mules, we had not two weeks' provisions in the camp. These consisted of a store which I had reserved for a hard day,—macaroni and bacon. From among the volunteers I chose King, Brackenridge, Creutzfeldt, and the guide Williams; the party under the command of King. In case of the least delay at the



settlements, he was to send me an express. In the mean time, we were to occupy ourselves in removing the baggage and equipage down to the Del Norte, which we reached with our baggage in a few days after their departure, (which was the day after Christmas.) Like many a Christmas for years back, mine was spent on the summit of a wintry mountain, my heart filled with gloomy and anxious thoughts, with none of the merry faces and pleasant luxuries that belong to that happy time. You may be sure we contrasted much this with the last at Washington, and speculated much on your doings and made many warm wishes for your happiness. Could you have looked into Agrippa's glass for a few moments only! You remember the volumes of Blackstone which I took from your father's library when we were overlooking it at our friend Brant's? They made my Christmas amusements. I read them to pass the heavy time and forget what was around me. Certainly, you may suppose that my first law-lessons will be well remembered. Day after day passed by, and no news from our express party. Snow continued to fall almost incessantly on the mountain. The spirits of the camp grew lower. Prone lay down in the trail and froze to death. In a sunshiny day, and having with him means to make a fire, he threw his blankets down

in the trail and lay there till he froze to death. After sixteen days had elapsed from King's departure, I became so uneasy at the delay that I decided to wait no longer. I was aware that our troops had been engaged in hostilities with the Spanish Utahs and Apaches, who range in the North River Valley, and became fearful that they (King's party) had been cut off by these Indians: I could imagine no other accident. Leaving the camp employed with the baggage in charge of Mr. Vincenthaler, I started down the river with a small party, consisting of Godey, (with his young nephew,) Mr. Preuss, and Saunders. We carried our arms and provisions for two or three days. In the camp the messes had provisions for two or three meals, more or less, and about five pounds of sugar to each man. Failing to meet King, my intention was to make the Red River settlement, about twenty-five miles north of Taos, and send back the speediest relief possible. My instructions to the camp were, that if they did not hear from me within a stated time they were to follow down the Del Norte.

“On the second day after leaving camp, we came upon a fresh trail of Indians,—two lodges, with a considerable number of animals. This did not lessen our uneasiness for our people. As their trail when we met it turned and went down the river,

we followed it. On the fifth day we surprised an Indian on the ice of the river. He proved to be a Utah, son of a Grand River chief we had formerly known, and behaved to us in a friendly manner. We encamped near them at night. By a present of a rifle, my two blankets, and other promised rewards when we should get in, I prevailed on this Indian to go with us as a guide to the Red River settlement, and take with him four of his horses, principally to carry our little baggage. These were wretchedly poor, and could get along only in a very slow walk. On that day, (the sixth,) we left the lodges late, and travelled only some six or seven miles. About sunset we discovered a little smoke, in a grove of timber off from the river, and, thinking perhaps it might be our express party on its return, we went to see. This was the twenty-second day since they had left us, and the sixth since we had left the camp. We found them,—three of them, Creutzfeldt, Brackenridge, and Williams,—the most miserable objects I have ever seen. I did not recognise Creutzfeldt's features when Brackenridge brought him up to me and mentioned his name. They had been starving. King had starved to death a few days before. His remains were some six or eight miles above, near the river. By the aid of the horses, we carried these three men with us to Red River settlement,

which we reached (Jan. 20) on the tenth evening after leaving our camp in the mountains, having travelled through snow and on foot one hundred and sixty miles. I look upon the anxiety which induced me to set out from the camp as an inspiration. Had I remained there waiting the party which had been sent in, every man of us would probably have perished.

“The morning after reaching the Red River town, Godey and myself rode on to the Rio Hondo and Taos, in search of animals and supplies, and, on the second evening after that on which we had reached Red River, Godey had returned to that place with about thirty animals, provisions, and four Mexicans, with which he set out for the camp on the following morning. On the road he received eight or ten others, which were turned over to him by the orders of Major Beale, the commanding officer of this northern district of New Mexico. I expect that Godey will reach this place with the party on Wednesday evening, the 31st. From Major Beale I received the offer of every aid in his power, and such actual assistance as he was able to render. Some horses which he had just recovered from the Utahs were loaned to me, and he supplied me from the commissary's department with provisions which I could have had nowhere else. I find myself in



the midst of friends. With Carson is living Owens; and Maxwell is at his father-in-law's, doing a very prosperous business as a merchant and contractor for the troops.

“*Evening.*—Mr. St. Vrain and Aubrey, who have just arrived from Santa Fé, called to see me. I had the pleasure to learn that Mr. St. Vrain sets out from Santa Fé on the 15th of February, for St. Louis, so that by him I have an early and certain opportunity of sending on my letters. Beale left Santa Fé on his journey to California on the 9th of this month. He probably carried on with him any letters which might have been at Santa Fé for me. I shall probably reach California with him or shortly after him. Say to your father that these are my plans for the future.

“At the beginning of February (about Saturday) I shall set out for California, taking the southern route, by the Rio Abejo, the Paso del Norte, and the south side of the Gila, entering California at the Agua Caliente, thence to Los Angeles and immediately north. I shall break up my party here and take with me only a few men. The survey has been uninterrupted up to this point, and I shall carry it on consecutively. As soon as possible after reaching California, I will go on with the survey of the coast and coast-country. Your father knows that

this is an object of great desire with me, and I trust it is not too much to hope that he may obtain the countenance and aid of the President (whoever he may be) in carrying it on effectually and rapidly to completion. For this I hope earnestly. I shall then be enabled to draw up a map and report on the whole country, agreeably to our previous anticipations. *All my other plans remain entirely unaltered.* I shall take immediate steps to make ourselves a good home in California, and to have a place ready for your reception, which I anticipate for April. My hopes and wishes are more strongly than ever turned that way.

“*Monday, 29th.*—My letter now assumes a journal-form. No news yet from the party,—a great deal of falling weather; rain and sleet here and snow in the mountains. This is to be considered a poor country,—mountainous, with severe winters and but little arable land. To the United States it seems to me to offer little other value than the right of way. It is throughout infested with Indians, with whom in the course of the present year the United States will be at war, as well as in the Oregon Territory. To hold this country will occasion the Government great expense, and, certainly, one can see no source of profit or advantage in it. An additional regiment will be required for special service here.

"Mr. St. Vrain dined with us to-day. Owens goes to Missouri in April to get married, and thence by water to California. Carson is very anxious to go there with me now, and afterward remove his family thither; but he cannot decide to break off from Maxwell and family connections.

"I am anxiously waiting to hear from my party, in much uncertainty as to their fate. My presence kept them together and quiet: my absence may have had a bad effect. When we overtook King's starving party, Brackenridge said that he 'would rather have seen me than his father.' He felt himself safe."

"TAOS, NEW MEXICO, February 6, 1849.

"After a long delay, which had wearied me to a point of resolving to set out again myself, tidings have at last reached me from my ill-fated party. Mr. Haler came in last night, having the night before reached Red River settlement, with some three or four others. Including Mr. King and Prone, we have lost eleven of our party. Occurrences after I left them are briefly these, so far as they are within Haler's knowledge. I say briefly, my dear Jessie, because now I am unwilling to force myself to dwell upon particulars. I wish for a time to shut out these things from my mind, to leave this country, and all thoughts and all things connected with

recent events, which have been so signally disastrous as absolutely to astonish me with a persistence of misfortune which no precaution has been adequate on my part to avert.

“You will remember that I had left the camp with occupation sufficient to employ them for three or four days, after which they were to follow me down the river. Within that time I had expected the relief from King, if it was to come at all.

“They remained where I had left them seven days, and then started down the river. Manuel—you will remember Manuel, the Cosumne Indian—gave way to a feeling of despair after they had travelled about two miles, begged Haler to shoot him, and then turned and made his way back to the camp,—intending to die there, as he doubtless soon did. They followed our trail down the river: twenty-two men they were in all. About ten miles below the camp, Wise gave out, threw away his gun and blanket, and, a few hundred yards farther, fell over into the snow and died. Two Indian boys, young men, countrymen of Manuel, were behind. They rolled up Wise in his blanket, and buried him in the snow on the river-bank. No more died that day,—none the next. Carver raved during the night, his imagination wholly occupied with images of many things which he fancied himself eating.



In the morning he wandered off from the party, and probably soon died. They did not see him again. Sorel on this day gave out, and lay down to die. They built him a fire; and Morin, who was in a dying condition and snow-blind, remained. These two did not probably last till the next morning. That evening, I think, Hubbard killed a deer. They travelled on, getting here and there a grouse, but probably nothing else, the snow having frightened off the game. Things were desperate, and brought Haler to the determination of breaking up the party, in order to prevent them from living upon each other. He told them 'that he had done all he could for them, that they had no other hope remaining than the expected relief, and that their best plan was to scatter and make the best of their way in small parties down the river. That, for his part, if he was to be eaten, he would, at all events, be found travelling when he did die.' They accordingly separated. With Mr. Haler continued five others and the two Indian boys. Rohrer now became very despondent: Haler encouraged him by recalling to mind his family, and urged him to hold out a little longer. On this day he fell behind, but promised to overtake them at evening. Haler, Scott, Hubbard, and Martin agreed that, if any one of them should give out, the others were not to wait for him

to die, but build a fire for him and push on. At night, Kern's mess encamped a few hundred yards from Haler's, with the intention, according to Taplin, to remain where they were until the relief should come, and in the mean time to live upon those who had died, and upon the weaker ones as they should die. With the three Kerns were Cathcart, Andrews, McKie, Stepperfeldt, and Taplin.

"Ferguson and Beadle had remained together behind. In the evening Rohrer came up and remained with Kern's mess. Mr. Haler learned afterward from that mess that Rohrer and Andrews wandered off the next day and died. They say they saw their bodies. In the morning Haler's party continued on. After a few hours, Hubbard gave out. They built him a fire, gathered him some wood, and left him, without, as Haler says, turning their heads to look at him as they went off. About two miles farther, Scott—you remember Scott, who used to shoot birds for you at the frontier—gave out. They did the same for him as for Hubbard, and continued on. In the afternoon the Indian boys went ahead, and before nightfall met Godey with the relief. Haler heard and knew the guns which he fired for him at night, and, starting early in the morning, soon met him. I hear that they all cried together like children. Haler turned back with

Godey, and went with him to where they had left Scott. He was still alive, and was saved. Hubbard was dead,—still warm. From Kern's mess they learned the death of Andrews and Rohrer, and a little above met Ferguson, who told them that Beadle had died the night before.

“Godey continued on with a few New Mexicans and pack-mules to bring down the baggage from the camp. Haler, with Martin and Bacon, on foot, and bringing Scott on horseback, have first arrived at the Red River settlement. Provisions and horses for them to ride were left with the others, who preferred to rest on the river until Godey came back. At the latest, they should all have reached Red River settlement last night, and ought all to be here this evening. When Godey arrives, I shall know from him all the circumstances sufficiently in detail to enable me to understand clearly every thing. But it will not be necessary to tell you any thing further. It has been sufficient pain for you to read what I have already written.

“As I told you, I shall break up my party here. I have engaged a Spaniard to furnish mules to take my little party with our baggage as far down the Del Norte as Albuquerque. To-morrow a friend sets out to purchase me a few mules, with which he

is to meet me at Albuquerque; and thence I continue the journey on my own animals. My road will take me down the Del Norte, about one hundred and sixty miles below Albuquerque, and then passes between this river and the heads of the Gila, to a little Mexican town called, I think, Tusson; thence to the mouth of the Gila and across the Colorado, direct to Agua Caliente, into California. I intend to make the journey rapidly, and about the middle of March: hope for the great pleasure of hearing from home. I look for a large supply of newspapers and documents, more perhaps because these things have a home-look about them than on their own account. When I think of you all, I feel a warm glow at my heart, which renovates it like a good medicine, and I forget painful feelings in strong hope for the future. We shall yet, dearest wife, enjoy quiet and happiness together: these are nearly one and the same to me now. I make frequently pleasant pictures of the happy home we are to have, and oftenest, and among the pleasantest of all, I see our library with its bright fire in the rainy stormy days, and the large windows looking out upon the sea in the bright weather. I have it all planned in my own mind. It is getting late now. La Harpe says that there are two gods which are



very dear to us,—hope and sleep. My homage shall be equally divided between them: both make the time pass lightly until I see you. So I go now to pay a willing tribute to one, with my heart full of the other."

## CHAPTER V.

### COLONEL FREMONT'S FIFTH EXPEDITION, AND POLITICAL HONORS.

Thus did this intrepid explorer labor to obtain a secure and practicable path which might conduct him to Sacramento. He may be said to have then thrown open, with his own hands, the golden gates of that new El Dorado, which have since glittered from afar upon the delighted vision of so many myriads of ardent and enthusiastic adventurers. His journey lay upon the straight line of the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth degrees. It is the same route which prudence and wise policy indicate as the one best adapted for the completion of the American Central Pacific Railway, when that great national work, so necessary to the future development of the resources and capacities of the Confederacy, shall be accomplished.

On his arrival in California, Colonel Fremont expected to settle and reside there permanently. In 1847, he had purchased a large tract of land, containing seventy square miles, termed the Mariposas

District, for the sum of three thousand dollars. It is situated two hundred and twenty-five miles north of San Francisco. The gold-mines which it contains are extremely valuable; and the Valley of the Mariposas is described as being the most fertile and beautiful in California. In January, 1852, Fremont filed his claim for this immense tract before the Commissioners appointed to ascertain and settle the private land-claims in the State of California. In December, 1852, his claim was confirmed by them. In September, 1853, an adverse claim was defended before the District Court of the United States. This tribunal decided adversely to Fremont. He appealed from their decision to the Supreme Court of the United States, which, after a thorough investigation, and a protracted and learned argument by counsel on both sides, established the title of Colonel Fremont to the whole tract claimed.\*

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\* As considerable interest has been excited in reference to this celebrated estate, we append the title under which Colonel Fremont claims, and the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, respecting it.

“In 1844, Manuel Micheltorrena, then governor and commandant-general, issued a grant of what is now known as the Mariposas property, to Juan Alvarado, purporting to be founded upon the patriotic services of Alvarado, who had been conspicuous in the commotions in California which resulted from the centralizing policy of Mexico, out of which grew the Texas Revolution, and was afterward appointed

While devoting his attention to his private interests in California, Colonel Fremont was elected to

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governor by the provincial deputation. In 1837, he repelled the effort of Cavallo, who had been appointed governor by Mexico, to take possession of the government, and was afterward confirmed as Governor of California by the constitutional authorities of Mexico. He continued in that office until Micheltorrena was appointed to succeed him, and he was appointed first counsellor of the departmental junta with a salary of \$1500. For these services the following grant was made:—

“ ‘Whereas, Don Juan B. Alvarado, colonel of the auxiliary militia of this department, is worthy for his patriotic services to be preferred in his pretension for his personal benefit and that of his family, for the tract of land known by the name of the Mariposas, to the extent of ten square leagues, (*sitios de ganado mayor*,) within the limits of the Snow Mountain (*Sierra Nevada*) and the rivers known by the names of the Chauchilles, of the Mereed, and the San Joaquin, the necessary requirements, according to the provisions of the laws and regulations, having been previously complied with, by virtue of the authority in me vested, in the name of the Mexican nation, I have granted to him the aforesaid tract, declaring the same by these presents his property in fee, subject to the approbation of the Most Excellent the Departmental Assembly and to the following conditions:—

“ ‘1. He shall not sell, alienate, or mortgage the same, nor subject it to taxes, entail, or any other encumbrance.

“ ‘2. He may enclose it without obstructing the crossings, the roads, or the right of way: he shall enjoy the same freely and without hinderance, destining it to such use or cultivation as may most suit him; but he shall build a house within a year, and it shall be inhabited.

“ ‘3. He shall solicit, from the proper magistrate, the judicial pos-



represent the Territory in the Senate of the United States. William W. Gwinn was his associate. The

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session of the same, by virtue of this patent, by whom the boundaries shall be marked out, on the limits of which he (the grantee) shall place the proper landmarks.

“‘4. The track of land granted is ten sitios de ganado mayor, (ten square leagues,) as before mentioned. The magistrate who may give the possession shall cause the same to be surveyed according to the ordinance, the surplus remaining to the nation for the proper uses.

“‘5. Should he violate the conditions, he will lose his right to the land, and it will be subject to being denounced by another.

“‘Therefore, I command that these presents being firm and binding, that the same be registered in the proper book, and delivered to the party interested for his security and other purposes.

“‘Given in Monterey, this 20th day of the month of February, in the year of 1844.

“‘MANUEL MICHELTORRENA.

“‘MANUEL TIMENO, *Secretary.*”

“On the 10th of February, 1847, Alvarado executed a deed of the property as described in his own grant to Colonel Fremont, with a general warranty of title. The consideration stated in the conveyance was \$3000. On the 21st of January, 1852, he filed his claim before the commissioners appointed to ascertain and settle the private land-claims in the State of California, and in December, 1852, the grant was confirmed. On the 20th of September, 1853, there was filed in the office of the commissioners a notice from Mr. Attorney-General Cushing, that an appeal from the decision of the commissioners to the District Court of the United States would be prosecuted, and in consequence of that appeal the decision of the commissioners was reversed on the 7th of January, 1854. An appeal was taken

career of Fremont in the Senate was limited in duration, in consequence of his having drawn the

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from that decision by Colonel Fremont to the Supreme Court of the United States. The case was argued on the part of Colonel Fremont by Wm. Carey Jones, Mr. Bibb, and Mr. Crittenden; on the part of the Government by Caleb Cushing, Attorney-General. The grounds taken against the title by the Government were as follows:—

“‘1. That Fremont’s claim is on a gratuitous colonization-grant by the Mexican governor of California to one Alvarado, of which there had been no surveys, no plan, no occupation, no site even, no confirmation by the proper public authority, no performance of any of the conditions precedent or subsequent annexed to the grant.

“‘2. That the concession to Alvarado was null for uncertainty of description and incapability of definite location.

“‘3. That the concession was not confirmed by the Departmental Assembly, and was not therefore entitled to confirmation by the United States courts.

“‘4. That the grant was void because the conditions annexed had never been performed.

“‘5. That until the governor-general confirmed the concession the title remained in the crown.

“‘6. That none of the excuses for non-performance alleged in Alvarado’s behalf possessed legal force.

“‘7. That the grant to Alvarado was a gratuitous one, except in so far as the performance of the conditions would relate back to constitute a consideration.

“‘8. That the original petition, the provisional grant, and the decree of the commissioners, each assumed a floating claim not as a grant of an identical trust of land by metes and bounds.’

“The Supreme Court took a different view of the case from Mr. Cushing,—reversed the decision of the District Court of California,

short period by lot. Three weeks only of that term remained; but during that brief interval he was con-

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and confirmed Colonel Fremont's title in every particular. Chief-Justice Taney delivered the opinion of the court, in the course of which, while speaking of the provision against alienation attached to Alvarado's grant, and which, he said, was void, as being in violation of a decree of the Mexican Congress, he observes:—

“‘But if this condition was valid by the laws of Mexico, and if any conveyance made by Alvarado would have forfeited the land under the Mexican Government as a breach of this condition, or if it would have been forfeited by a conveyance to an alien, it does not by any means follow that the same penalty would have been incurred by the conveyance to Fremont.

“‘California was at that time in possession of the American forces, and held by the United States as a conquered country, subject to the authority of the American Government. The Mexican municipal laws which were then administered were administered under the authority of the United States, and might be repealed or abrogated at their pleasure; and any Mexican law inconsistent with the rights of the United States or its public policy, or with the rights of its citizens, was annulled by the conquest. Now, there is no principle of public law which prohibits the citizen of a conquering country from purchasing property, real or personal, in the territory thus acquired and held; nor is there any thing in the principles of our Government, in its policy, or in its laws, which forfeits it. The Mexican Government, if it had regained the power, and it had been its policy to prevent the alienation of real estate, might have treated the sale by Alvarado as a violation of its laws; but it becomes a very different question when the American Government is called on to execute the Mexican law. And it can hardly be maintained that an American citizen, who makes a contract or purchases property under such circumstances, can be

stantly engaged in proposing measures of wise and judicious legislation, which were necessary to complete and consolidate the government of California, which had been recently admitted as a State.\* Eighteen bills of this nature were proposed by him; and many of them were passed. On the 31st of March, 1851, his term in the Senate expired; after which period he returned to California, to renew his attention to his private affairs, which had been much neglected in consequence of his devotion to public duties. He proceeded to take additional steps to perfect his title to Mariposas. He had the land surveyed and mapped. He devoted much time and labor to cattle-rearing. In 1852, his business relations called him to England and France, in which countries he spent a year. In March, 1852, an appropriation was

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punished in a court of the United States with the penalty of forfeiture, when there is no law of Congress to inflict it. The purchase was perfectly consistent with the rights and duties of Colonel Fremont as an American officer and an American citizen; and the country in which he made the purchase was, at the time, subject to the authority and dominion of the United States. . . .

“Upon the whole, it is the opinion of the court that the claim of the petitioner is valid, and ought to be confirmed. The decree of the District Court must, therefore, be reversed, and the case remanded, with directions to the District Court to enter a decree conformably to this opinion.’”\*

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\* See Howard's U. S. Supreme Court Reports, vol. xvii. pp. 564, 565.



made by Congress for the purpose of surveying three routes to the Pacific Ocean, from which to select a highway from the Mississippi toward the land of gold. This proposition at once aroused the slumbering interest of the distinguished explorer in the enterprise to which so valuable a portion of his life had been already devoted. He immediately left Paris, in June, 1853, and returned to the United States for the purpose of commencing his fifth and last great exploration across the western half of the North American continent.

At the commencement of this journey Colonel Fremont was attacked with a very severe illness, which compelled him to return to St. Louis for medical treatment. After three weeks' delay, he was able to follow his company of twenty-two men, half of whom were able-bodied Delaware Indians. They had continued their route by his orders. On the 30th of October, he rejoined them at the Saline Fork of the Kansas River, better known by the epithet of Salt Creek. This spot is situated in the midst of a wide prairie, which extended for many miles in every direction. When Colonel Fremont returned to his company, the grass was on fire on all sides as far as the eye could reach. The Delaware Indians had picketed their animals near the creek, on the banks of which they had encamped, and thither all

the baggage had been removed, as to the place of greatest safety. While the whole company were gazing silently upon the sublime spectacle which was thus presented to their view, several horsemen were suddenly seen approaching the spot at the top of their speed and boldly riding through the tumultuous ocean of flame. It proved to be Colonel Fremont, his physician, and their attendant. They were received with enthusiastic shouts of joy.

The next day the journey was resumed. During the night the fire had crossed the Kansas River, and it was then raging along the line of their further progress. The only possible escape was through the blazing grass; and, as soon as the animals were packed and the camp was raised, Colonel Fremont mounted and dashed forward at a gallop through the flames, followed by the rest of the company. About a hundred feet were thus rapidly traversed without any serious consequences being felt from the effects of the burning grass.

The country now to be examined comprised three-fourths of the distance which intervened from the Missouri frontier, at the mouth of the Kansas River, to the foot of the Wahsatch Mountains, within the rim of the Great Basin. The line to be pursued was between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels of latitude. The whole extent of the route was about

fifteen hundred and fifty miles, through territories in a great measure unknown and untrodden by the foot of the white man. The first section of this region extends for seven hundred miles, from Missouri to the base of the Sierra Blanca. The second or middle portion reaches from the Sierra Blanca to the Wahsatch Mountains,—about four hundred and fifty miles. Here the first and lonely settlement of the Mormons existed. The third, or most western division, includes the mountainous plateau lying between the Wahsatch Mountains and the Sierra Nevada,—a distance of about four hundred miles.

During the progress of this journey the company experienced the usual incidents of labor and of suffering which had attended the preceding expeditions. Near the Sand Hill Pass they first found traces of the Utah Indians. They there met and killed a young wild horse for food. The next day a party of Utahs came into the camp and demanded payment for the slain animal, alleging that it belonged to one of their squaws. They were paid for it in knives, blankets, and other utensils. But the next day the expedition was visited by another and a different company of the same tribe of Indians, who exhibited a more warlike appearance. They declared, that the preceding party had not owned the horse, that they had no right to receive payment for its loss,

and that *they* were the rightful possessors. They added that unless they received "a great deal of red cloth, blankets, knives, and powder," they would massacre the whole company. Colonel Fremont was not intimidated by these threats. He was well acquainted with the character of these Indians, and refused to comply with their demands, although they were all well armed with rifles, bows, and arrows. He directed one of his men to take out his Colt's revolver, containing six barrels, to tell the Indians that the white man could shoot as often as he pleased without reloading, and then to discharge his weapon a number of times rapidly in succession. He did so; and the savages, unable to explain the mysterious phenomenon, at once acknowledged the superior effectiveness of the white man's arms, professed friendship, changed their tone to one of supplication, begged what articles they could obtain from the generosity of the strangers, and then quietly withdrew.

As time and their journey advanced, the sufferings of the expedition became more intense. For several months, as they traversed the snowy and rugged solitudes of the mountains, they subsisted on horseflesh. Their custom was, when an animal gave out, to shoot him down, immediately to divide the carcass into twenty-two parts and distribute



them to the men. One horse generally furnished six meals for the whole party. The entrails were *well shaken*, for the men had no water wherewith to wash them. They were then boiled with snow. The hide was divided into equal portions, and with the bones, was roasted to a crisp. When the cactus-leaves could be obtained, they were separated from the prickles and boiled as a salad. Thus they lived, or rather starved, during fifty days; and they travelled over a large portion of the way on foot. During part of the journey some of the men were without shoes. On the 7th of February, 1854, Oliver Fullen, of St. Louis, expired. He had travelled for some weeks on foot. At length, his feet being badly frozen, he found himself unable to proceed. He was wrapped in his blankets, laid across the path, while the company waited three days to enable him to recruit. At last they were compelled to resume their journey. The best remaining mule was assigned for the use of the invalid, and two men walked on either side to support him. When nearly at the end of their sufferings, he expired, while lying on the mule; and he was immediately buried by his surviving comrades on the lonely spot where he died, hundreds of miles from his home and from those who were most deeply interested in his fate.

Having reached the Wahsatch Mountains, Colonel Fremont had accomplished two grand divisions of his task. A third yet remained. This was to explore the mountainous plateau between those mountains and the Sierra Nevada of California. Two routes had suggested themselves to Colonel Fremont as worthy of examination;—one directly across the plateau between the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth parallels of latitude, the other keeping to the south of the mountains and following the valley of the Virgin River two hundred miles to the head of the San Joaquin Valley. The latter route had been partially examined already by Major Steele, of Parawan; Colonel Fremont therefore resolved to select the other much more difficult one, which he believed also to be the more direct line toward San Francisco.

He found the country to be a high table-land, filled with mountains, and intersected by numerous open and low passes. The valleys were dry and naked, without wood or water; the mountains were covered with pines; springs were rare; and small streams of water were found only at long intervals. He met no human creature here during a journey of three hundred miles. He struck the Sierra Nevada about the thirty-seventh parallel, on the 15th of March. He found these mountains to be

very abrupt and covered with snow. The highest point which he reached was nine thousand feet above the level of the sea. At length the expedition ended its arduous labors on the 1st of May, 1854, and, passing down from the mountainous and snowy regions among which they had so long toiled, they entered the welcome bosom of the Valley of San Joaquin, which led them out into the open inhabited country, through a long, smooth passage along which a wagon might travel, without the least impediment or danger, for forty consecutive miles. They reached the termination of their toils just in time to avoid starvation; for they had subsisted for weeks on horse-meat, and their last supply of this delicate nutriment had been entirely exhausted two days previous to their attaining the confines of civilization. Fremont had completed his explorations and scientific investigations, commencing at the very spot from which his guide had gone astray on his fourth expedition; thus evincing the singular constancy and perseverance with which this great hero of exploring science executed the high and daring purposes of usefulness which he had once conceived.

The following description of the results of this expedition by Colonel Fremont himself affords some conception of the value of the fruits which ensued from his labors:

*"To the Editors of the National Intelligencer.*

"GENTLEMEN:—While the proceedings in Congress are occupying public attention, more particularly with the subject of a Pacific railway, I desire to offer to your paper for publication some general results of a recent winter-expedition across the Rocky Mountains, confining myself to mere results, in anticipation of a fuller report, with maps and illustrations, which will necessarily require some months to prepare.

"The country examined was for about three-fourths of the distance—from the Missouri frontier, at the mouth of the Kansas River, to the Valley of Parawan, at the foot of the Wahsatch Mountains, within the rim of the Great Basin, at its southeastern bend—along and between the 38th and 39th parallels of latitude; and the whole line divides itself naturally into three sections, which may be conveniently followed in description.

"The *first* or eastern section consists of the great prairie-slope spreading from the base of the Sierra Blanca to the Missouri frontier,—about seven hundred miles; the *second* or middle section comprehends the various Rocky Mountain ranges and interlying valleys, between the termination of the Great Plains, at the foot of the Sierra Blanca, and



the Great Basin of the Parawan Valley and Wahsatch Mountains, where the first Mormon settlement is found,—about four hundred and fifty miles; the *third* or western section comprehends the mountainous plateau lying between the Wahsatch Mountains and the Sierra Nevada,—a distance of about four hundred miles.

“The country examined was upon a very direct line, the travelled route being about one thousand five hundred and fifty miles over an air-line distance of about thirteen hundred miles.

“*The First Section.*—Four separate expeditions across this section, made before the present one, and which carried me over various lines at different seasons of the year, enable me to speak of it with the confidence of intimate knowledge. It is a plain of easy inclination, sweeping directly up to the foot of the mountains which dominate it as highlands do the ocean. Its character is open prairie, over which summer travelling is made in every direction.

“For a railway or a winter-travelling road, the route would be, in consideration of wood, coal, building-stone, water, and fertile land, about two hundred miles up the immediate valley of Kansas, (which might be made one rich continuous corn-field,) and afterward along the immediate valley of

the Upper Arkansas, of which about two hundred miles, as you approach the mountains, is continuously well adapted to settlements as well as to roads. Numerous well-watered and fertile valleys, broad and level, open up among the mountains, which present themselves in detached blocks, outliers, gradually closing in around the heads of the streams, but leaving open approaches to the central ridges. The whole of the intermountain region is abundant in grasses, wood, coal, and fertile soil. The Pueblos above Bent's Fort prove it to be well adapted to the grains and vegetables common to the latitude,—including Indian corn, which ripens well,—and to the support of healthy stock, which increase well and take care of themselves summer and winter.

“The climate is mild and the winters short, the autumn usually having its full length of bright, open weather, without snow, which in winter falls rarely and passes off quickly. In this belt of country lying along the mountains the snow falls more early and much more thinly than in the open plains to the eastward: the storms congregate about the high mountains and leave the valleys free. In the beginning of December we found yet no snow on the Huerfano River, and were informed by an old resident, then engaged in establishing a farm at the mouth of this stream, that snow seldom or never

falls there, and that cattle were left in the range all the winter through.

“This character of country continued to the foot of the dividing crest, and to this point our journey resulted in showing a very easy grade for a road, over a country unobstructed either by snow or other impediments, and having all the elements necessary to the prosperity of an agricultural population, in fertility of soil, abundance of food for stock, wood and coal for fuel, and timber for necessary constructions.

“Our examinations around the southern headwaters of the Arkansas have made us acquainted with many passes, grouped together in a small space of country, conducting by short and practicable valleys from the waters of the Arkansas just described, to the valleys of the Del Norte and East Colorado. The Sierra Blanca, through which these passes lie, is high and rugged, presenting a very broken appearance, but rises abruptly from the open country on either side, narrowed at the points through which the passes are cut, leaving them only six or eight miles in length from valley to valley, and entirely unobstructed by outlying ranges or broken country. To the best of these passes the ascent is along the open valley of water-courses, uniform and very gradual in ascent. Standing im-

mediately at the mouth of the Sand Hill Pass,—one of the most practicable in the Sierra Blanca, and above those usually travelled,—at one of the remotest head-springs of the Huerfano River, the eye of the traveller follows down without obstruction or abrupt descent along the gradual slope of the valley to the great plains which reach the Missouri. The straight river and the open valley form, with the plains beyond, one great slope, without a hill to break the line of sight or obstruct the course of the road. On either side of this line hills slope easily to the river, with lines of timber and yellow autumnal grass, and the water which flows smoothly between is not interrupted by a fall in its course to the ocean. The surrounding country is wooded with pines and covered with luxuriant grasses up to the very crags of the central summits. On the 8th of December we found this whole country free from snow; and Daguerre views taken at this time show the grass entirely uncovered in the passes.

“Along all this line the elevation was carefully determined by frequent barometrical observations, and its character exhibited by a series of daguerreotype views, comprehending the face of the country almost continuously, or at least sufficiently so to give a thoroughly correct impression of the whole.

“Two tunnel-like passes pierce the mountains



here almost in juxtaposition, connecting the plain-country on either side by short passages five to eight miles long. The mountains which they perforate constitute the only obstruction, and are the only break in the plane or valley line of road from the frontier of Missouri to the summit-hills of the Rocky Mountains,—a distance of about eight hundred and fifty miles, or more than half-way to the San Joaquin Valley. Entering one of these passes from the eastern plain, a distance of about one mile upon a wagon-road, already travelled by wagons, commands an open view of the broad Valley of San Luis and the great range of San Juan beyond on its western side. I here connected the line of the present expedition with one explored in 1848-49 from the mouth of the Kansas to this point; and the results of both will be embodied in a full report.

“At this place the line entered the middle section, and continued its western course over an open valley-country, admirably adapted for settlement, across the San Luis Valley, and up the flat bottom-lands of the Sahwatch to the heights of the central ridge of the Rocky Mountains. Across those wooded heights,—wooded and grass-covered up to and over their rounded summits,—to the Choocha-to-pe Pass, the line followed an open, easy wagon-way, such as is usual to a rolling country. On the high sum-

mit-lands were forests of coniferous trees, and the snow in the pass was four inches deep. This was on the 14th of December. A day earlier our horses' feet would not have touched snow in the crossing. Up to this point we had enjoyed clear and dry pleasant weather. Our journey had been all along on dry ground; and, travelling slowly along, waiting for the winter, there had been abundant leisure for becoming acquainted with the country. The open character of the country, joined to good information, indicated the existence of other passes about the head of the Sahwatch. This it was desirable to verify, and especially to examine a neighboring and lower pass connecting more directly with the Arkansas Valley, known as the Poow-che.

“But the winter had now set in over all the mountain-regions, and the country was so constantly enveloped and hidden in clouds which rested upon it, and the air so darkened by falling snow, that exploring became difficult and dangerous precisely where we felt most interested in making a thorough examination. We were moving, in fogs and clouds, through a region wholly unknown to us, and without guides, and were therefore obliged to content ourselves with the examination of a single line and the ascertainment of the winter-condition of the

country over which it passed,—which was, in fact, the main object of our expedition.

“Our progress in this mountainous region was necessarily slow; and, during ten days which it occupied us to pass through about one hundred miles of the mountainous country bordering the eastern side of the Upper Colorado Valley, the greatest depth of snow was, among the pines and aspens, on the ridges about two and a half feet, and in the valleys about six inches. The atmosphere is too cold and dry for much snow, and the valleys, protected by the mountains, are comparatively free from it and warm. We here found villages of Utah Indians in their wintering ground, in little valleys along the foot of the highest mountains and bordering the more open country of the Colorado Valley. Snow was here (December 25) only a few inches deep,—the grass generally appearing above it, and there being none under trees and on southern hill-sides.

“The horses of the Utahs were living on the range, and, notwithstanding that they were used in hunting, were in excellent condition. One which we had occasion to kill for food had on it about two inches of fat, being in as good order as any buffalo we had killed in November on the eastern plains. Over this valley-country—about one hundred and fifty miles across—the Indians informed us that snow

falls only a few inches in depth, such as we saw it at the time.

“The immediate valley of the Upper Colorado for about one hundred miles in breadth, and from the 7th to the 22d of January, was entirely bare of snow, and the weather resembled that of autumn in this country. The line here entered the body of mountains known as the Wahsatch and Chu-ter-ria ranges, which are practicable at several places in this part of their course; but the falling snow and destitute condition of my party again interfered to impede examinations. They lie between the Colorado Valley and the Great Basin, and at their western base are established the Mormon settlements of Parawan and Cedar City. They are what are called fertile mountains, abundant in water, wood, and grass, and fertile valleys, offering inducements to settlement and facilities for making a road. These mountains are a great storehouse of materials—timber, iron, coal—which would be of indispensable use in the construction and maintenance of the road, and are solid foundations to build up the future prosperity of the rapidly-increasing Utah State.

“Salt is abundant on the eastern border-mountains, as the Sierra de Sal, being named from it. In the ranges lying behind the Mormon settlements, among the mountains through which the line passes,



are accumulated a great wealth of iron and coal and extensive forests of heavy timber. These forests are the largest I am acquainted with in the Rocky Mountains, being in some places twenty miles in depth of continuous forest,—the general growth lofty and large, frequently over three feet in diameter, and sometimes reaching five feet, the red spruce and yellow pine predominating. At the actual southern extremity of the Mormon settlements, consisting of the two enclosed towns of Parawan and Cedar City, near to which our line passed, a coal-mine has been opened for about eighty yards, and iron-works already established. Iron here occurs in extraordinary masses, in some parts accumulated into mountains, which come out in crests of solid iron thirty feet thick and a hundred yards long.

“In passing through this bed of mountains about fourteen days had been occupied,—from January 24 to February 7,—the deepest snow we here encountered being about up to the saddle-skirts, or four feet; this occurring only in occasional drifts in the passes on northern exposures, and in the small mountain-flats hemmed in by woods and hills. In the valley it was sometimes a few inches deep, and as often none at all. On our arrival at the Mormon settlements, February 8, we found it a few inches deep, and were there informed that the winter had

been unusually long-continued and severe, the thermometer having been as low as  $17^{\circ}$  below zero, and more snow having fallen than in all the previous winters together since the establishment of this colony.

“At this season their farmers had usually been occupied with their ploughs, preparing the land for grain.

“At this point the line of exploration entered the *third* or western section, comprehending the mountainous *plateau* between the Wahsatch Mountains and the Sierra Nevada of California. Two routes have suggested themselves to me for examination,—one directly across the *plateau*, between the 37th and 38th parallels, the other keeping to the south of the mountains and following for about two hundred miles down a valley of the Rio Virgen,—Virgin River,—thence direct to the Tejon Pass, at the head of the San Joaquin Valley. This route down the Virgin River had been examined the year before, with a view to settlement this summer, by a Mormon exploring party under the command of Major Steele, of Parawan, who (and others of the party) informed me that they found fertile valleys inhabited by Indians, who cultivated corn and melons, and the rich ground in many places matted over with grape-vines. The Tejon Passes are two, one of them (from the

abundance of vines at its lower end) called Caxon de las Uvas. They were of long use, and were examined by me and their practicability ascertained in my expedition of 1848-49; and in 1851 I again passed through them both, bringing three thousand head of cattle through one of them.

“Knowing the practicability of these passes, and confiding in the report of Major Steele as to the intermediate country, I determined to take the other, (between the 37th and 38th parallels,) it recommending itself to me as being more direct toward San Francisco, and preferable on that account for a road, if suitable ground could be found; and also as being unknown. The Mormons informed me that various attempts had been made to explore it, and all failed for want of water. Although biassed in favor of the Virgin River route, I determined to examine this one in the interest of geography, and accordingly set out for this purpose from the settlement about the 20th of February, travelling directly westward from Cedar City, (eighteen miles west of Parawan.) We found the country a high table-land, bristling with mountains, often in short, isolated blocks, and sometimes accumulated into considerable ranges, with numerous open and low passes.

“We were thus always in a valley and always surrounded by mountains more or less closely, which

apparently altered in shape and position as we advanced. The valleys are dry and naked, without water or wood; but the mountains are generally covered with grass and well wooded with pines: springs are very rare, and occasionally small streams are at remote distances. Not a human being was encountered between the Santa Clara Road, near the Mormon settlements, and the Sierra Nevada,—over a distance of more than three hundred miles. The solitary character of this uninhabited region, the naked valleys without water-courses, among mountains with fertile soil and grass and woods abundant, give it the appearance of an unfinished country.

“Commencing on the 38th, we struck the Sierra Nevada on or about the 37th parallel about the 15th of March.

“On our route across we had for the greater part of the time pleasant and rather warm weather,—the valley-grounds and low ridges uncovered, but snow over the upper parts of the higher mountains. Between the 20th of February and 17th of March we had several snow-storms, sometimes accompanied with hail and heavy thunder; but the snow remained on the valley-ground only a few hours after the storm was over. It forms not the least impediment at any time in the winter. I was prepared to find the sierra here broad, rugged, and blocked up with snow, and



was not disappointed in my expectation. The first range we attempted to cross carried us to an elevation of eight thousand or nine thousand feet and into impassable snow, which was further increased on the 16th by a considerable fall.

“There was no object in forcing a passage; and I accordingly turned at once some sixty or eighty miles to the southward, making a wide sweep to strike the point of the California Mountain where the Sierra Nevada suddenly breaks off and declines into a lower country. Information obtained years before from the Indians led me to believe that the low mountains were broken into many passes; and, at all events, I had the certainty of an easy passage through either of Walker’s passes.

“When the Point was reached I found the Indian information fully verified: the mountain suddenly terminated and broke down into lower grounds barely above the level of the country, and making numerous openings into the Valley of the San Joaquin. I entered into the first which offered, (taking no time to search, as we were entirely out of provisions and living upon horses,) which led us, by an open and almost level hollow thirteen miles long, to an upland not steep enough to be called a hill, over into the valley of a small affluent to Kern River,—the hollow and the valley making together a way

where a wagon would not find any obstruction for forty miles.

“The country around the passes in which the Sierra Nevada here terminates declines considerably below its more northern elevations. There was no snow to be seen at all on its eastern face, and none in the pass; but we were in the midst of opening spring, flowers blooming in fields on both sides of the sierra.

“Between the point of the mountains and the head of the valley at the Tejon the passes generally are free from snow throughout the year, and the descent from them to the ocean is distributed over a long slope of more than two hundred miles. The low, dry country and the long slope, in contradistinction to the high country and short sudden descent and heavy snows of the passes behind the Bay of San Francisco, are among the considerations which suggest themselves in favor of the route by the head of the San Joaquin.

“The above results embody general impressions made upon my mind during this journey. It is clearly established that the winter condition of the country constitutes no impediment, and, from what has been said, the entire practicability of the line will be as clearly inferred. A fuller account hereafter will comprehend detailed descriptions of the

country, with their absolute and relative elevations, and show the ground upon which the conclusions were based. They are contributed at this time as an element to aid the public in forming an opinion on the subject of the projected railway, and in gratification of my great desire to do something for its advancement. It seems a treason against mankind and the spirit of progress which marks the age, to refuse to put this one completing-link to our national prosperity and the civilization of the world. Europe still lies between Asia and America: build this railroad, and things will have revolved about: America will lie between Asia and Europe; the golden vein which runs through the history of the world will follow the iron track to San Francisco, and the Asiatic trade will finally fall into its last and permanent road, when the new and the modern Chryse throw open their gates to the thoroughfare of the world.

“I am, gentlemen, with much regard, respectfully

“Yours.”

In March, 1855, Colonel Fremont removed, with his family, to the city of New York. Unusual political honors were about to be conferred upon this man of bold and resolute devotion to science and national development. On the 17th of June, he

was nominated at Philadelphia for the Presidency of the United States, by the National Republican Convention, containing delegates from all the "free States," and from Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, and the District of Columbia. He accepted the nomination, avowing, as the chief and most characteristic features of his political creed, his hostility to the further extension of slavery in States and Territories which till then were free from its existence; his opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and his approbation of the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free State. His opponent in this great contest was James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. The latter was chosen by a small majority of electoral votes, and became President of the United States.\* Colonel Fremont then returned to the welcome shades of private life, and devoted himself to the preparation of a full and elaborate narrative of his adventures and researches during his fifth and last expedition

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\* The popular vote throughout the Union was as follows:—In the "free States," for Fremont, 1,340,618; for Fillmore, 393,590; for Buchanan, 1,224,750. In the "slave States," for Fremont, 1,194; for Fillmore, 479,465; for Buchanan, 609,587. Total vote for Fremont, 1,341,812; for Fillmore, 873,055; for Buchanan, 1,834,337. Buchanan's majority over Fremont, 492,595; Fillmore and Fremont over Buchanan, 381,530.



across the vast domains of the Western and South-Western Territories of the Confederacy. His most exalted praise will ever continue to be, that he has won for himself the honorable distinction of being one of the most talented, enterprising, and successful of American explorers and discoverers.

## PART III.

### JOHN LEDYARD.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### YOUTH AND EARLY EDUCATION OF LEDYARD.

THIS singular man, the most eccentric, the most unlucky, and, in some respects, the most remarkable traveller of modern times, was born at the village of Groton, in Connecticut, in 1751. His family were of English descent; his grandfather, a merchant in comfortable circumstances, having emigrated from Bristol to the New World many years before the date of Ledyard's birth. The father of the traveller was a sea-captain, engaged in the West India trade, who died at the age of thirty-five, leaving a widow and four children. One of the latter was Colonel William Ledyard, the commander of the American troops in the unfortunate action of Fort Griswold, who was cruelly slain after the capitulation.

The youth of John Ledyard was spent at Groton. After his father's death, his mother married Doctor

Moore, of Southold, on which occasion John was taken by his grandfather to reside with himself at Hartford. At this early period the peculiarities of his character were already apparent, and he was remarked as a bold, eccentric, and self-reliant boy. He attended the grammar-school in Hartford for some time, after which he entered the office of Thomas Seymour, a respectable attorney of that city, who had married his aunt.

The dry, abstruse details of legal science possessed but few attractions for a mind so ardent and so imaginative as that of Ledyard. He soon began to weary of it, and expressed his disgust in no equivocal terms. Instead of being remarked for attentive application to study, he became notorious for the eagerness with which he embarked in enterprises of the most hazardous and romantic description, in which superior courage, energy, and resolution were required. He already seemed to be utterly improvident in his disposition, and indisposed to anticipate misfortunes, to guard against their occurrence, or to provide for the responsibilities and necessities of the future.

When nineteen years of age, Dr. Wheelock, the founder and president of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, who had been intimate with Ledyard's grandfather, invited him to become a pupil of that

institution. The offer was accepted, and in 1772 Ledyard commenced a course of studies which was intended to prepare him for laboring as a missionary among the Indians, a portion of whom still remained in New England. His journey from Hartford to Hanover, the seat of the college, was performed in a sully, which attracted much notice from the fact that it was the first vehicle of the kind which had ever traversed that portion of the continent. The peculiarities of Ledyard may be inferred from the fact that, even in this journey, the chief bulk of his baggage consisted of a theatrical apparatus, with which he intended to amuse himself and his associates amid his more sober studies. The prevalent simplicity of things at that time may be inferred from the fact that the students of the college were called together for recitation and prayers by the sound of a conch-shell, which was blown by the freshmen in their turns.

After residing four months at the college, Ledyard suddenly disappeared. Not the slightest trace could be discovered of his destination. After the expiration of three months and a half, he as suddenly returned. Then the mystery of his strange absence was revealed. He had wandered to the borders of Canada, and had resided among the "Six Nations." By this eccentric expedition he



had acquired considerable knowledge of Indian manners and customs; but, at the same time, he had come to the deliberate conclusion *not* to spend his life as a missionary to the savages. He secretly determined to abandon that project and the college together; and he executed his purpose after a fashion peculiarly his own.

His first step was to cut down one of the immense forest-trees which reared its lofty summit toward heaven a short distance in the rear of the institution. The trunk of this tree he gradually fashioned into the shape of a canoe. The length of his craft was fifty feet; its breadth was three. With the assistance of some of his fellow-students, he succeeded in digging out the interior of the mass, and at last this singular product of his skill and labor was completed. His companions then aided him in launching it upon the Connecticut River.

It was Ledyard's purpose, by means of this singular conveyance, to return to Hartford, and to float down the current of a stream with which he was totally unacquainted. He provided himself with a bearskin as a cover from the inclemency of the weather; and with a sufficient stock of provisions, copies of the Greek Testament and Ovid, and a paddle, he commenced this strange, adventurous voyage. He was carried forward by the river in safety

till he approached Bellows Falls. To have passed over these in his canoe would have entailed certain death. Fortunately, the distant roaring of the waters awoke him from sleep, apprized him of his danger, and enabled him to escape it by landing his canoe and carrying it, with the aid of the neighboring people, around and below the cataract. He thus travelled a hundred and fifty miles down the river in safety, or at least without an accident, frequently passing through dark forests and primeval wildernesses where no traces of civilization were yet to be observed. His arrival at Hartford in this singular manner filled his friends with astonishment and dismay; for they imagined that he was at that moment industriously and devoutly preparing himself at Dartmouth for his future missionary labors among the Indians.

Ledyard now consulted with his friends what was best to be done. Within a month after his desertion of Dartmouth College he had come to the determination to study theology and prepare himself for the ministry. On this subject he conferred with Dr. Bellamy, a celebrated preacher of that day. To accomplish this result, to which the partial and imprudent recommendation of the Doctor the more encouraged him, he proceeded to Long Island, in order to pass through his preparatory studies. But in this enterprise disappointment attended him.

It does not clearly appear whether his abandonment of this scheme was the result of his own caprice and inconstancy, or whether it arose from the opposition which others may have raised against him by placing difficulties in his way; all that is now known is that Ledyard's aspirations to the ministry, like his devotion to the life of a missionary among the Indians, ended in nothing. It is most probable that his own eccentricities of conduct and character were so great as to render the prudent and pious very doubtful as to the propriety of his admission to the ministry, and that hence they were induced to oppose it.

Thus was the future destiny of Ledyard still uncertain and obscure. Having abandoned all his previous schemes, he was now open for whatever fate, either accident or providence, might assign him; and he next appeared in a character entirely different from any which he had previously assumed. As he loitered with his relations at Hartford, he fell in with Captain Deshon, who was then about to sail from the port of New London to Gibraltar. He engaged himself on board his vessel as a common sailor, and thus commenced his long-continued and most remarkable wanderings over the face of the earth. This cruise to the Mediterranean occupied a year; but during its progress nothing of special interest

occurred. Ledyard was now again adrift after his return, and was ready for some new adventure. He had often heard that his family had relations in England who were immensely rich; and he suddenly conceived the singular project of visiting them for the purpose of obtaining from them some advancement in the world.

He instantly started for New York, where he embarked on a vessel bound to Plymouth. Having arrived at that port, he hastened to London. His appearance was not such as to commend him to strangers; but having discovered his English relations, he endeavored to obtain an interview, to introduce himself to their acquaintance, and to profit by their partiality. He failed ignominiously in all his purposes. His rich relatives treated the unknown foreigner with suspicion and contempt; and soon Ledyard's haughty spirit induced him to repay their indignities with other indignities equally great. Never was Ledyard known to have reached such a pitch of resentment and fury as that which he displayed on this occasion.

His condition was now again friendless and miserable. A stranger in a strange land, he was surrounded by poverty and gloom. But Ledyard's intrepidity of mind in the midst of calamities was one of his most prominent and remarkable charac-



teristics. He never lost his courage, and his courage now brought him relief. The celebrated Captain Cook was at that moment in London, preparing for his third and last voyage of discovery around the world. Ledyard called on him, explained his plans and purposes, charmed the hardy explorer with his vivacity and good nature, and obtained permission to enlist in his service as a corporal of marines. He soon became a special favorite with this distinguished and adventurous navigator.

## CHAPTER II.

### LEDYARD'S VOYAGE WITH CAPTAIN COOK AROUND THE WORLD.

LEDYARD had at last obtained an engagement and a pursuit suited to his talents and character. The third expedition of Captain Cook sailed from England on the 12th of July, 1776. It consisted of two ships,—the *Resolution*, commanded by Cook, and the *Discovery*, commanded by Clerke. They proceeded to Teneriffe, thence to the Cape of Good Hope, and then came to anchor in Table Bay. Cook shaped his course from that point toward the southern extremity of New Holland, and at length moored in the bay at Van Diemen's Land. From this point he sailed to New Zealand. After various explorations and experiences in these islands, Cook proceeded to Tahiti, the largest of the Society Islands. Similar researches were made throughout this group, from which the ship proceeded to the Friendly Islands. Resuming his voyage from this point, Captain Cook had the good fortune to discover a new group of islands, to which he gave the

now well-known name of *Sandwich*, and which till then had never before been visited by the feet of Europeans. He found a safe harbor here, and carried on an extensive intercourse with the simple-minded inhabitants.

From the Sandwich Islands Cook proceeded to the western coast of North America. He reached Nootka Sound without any accident; and although Ledyard was here three thousand miles distant from the place of his birth, yet he describes in his journal the intense feeling of delight with which he again touched the soil of his native land. Here he formed some acquaintance with the trade and the profits of the British and Russian Fur Company, which information exercised an important influence on many of his movements in subsequent years. For the sake of illustrating the nature of Ledyard's favorite occupations, as well as in order to exhibit the literary style of the ex-student of theology and world-wanderer, we make the following extract from the journal which he carefully kept during the progress of this remarkable voyage. Says he:—"I have before observed that we had noticed many appearances to the eastward of this of a European intercourse, and that we had at this island in particular (Onalaska, on the northwest coast) met with circumstances that did not only indicate such an

intercourse, but seemed strongly to intimate that some Europeans were actually somewhere on the spot. The appearances that led to these conjectures were such as these. We found among the inhabitants of this island two different kinds of people: the one we knew to be the aborigines of America; while we supposed the others to come from the opposite coasts of Asia. There were two different dialects also observed; and we found them fond of tobacco, rum, and snuff. Tobacco we even found them possessed of, and we observed several blue linen shirts and drawers among them. But the most remarkable circumstance was a cake of rye-meal newly baked, with a piece of salmon in it, seasoned with pepper and salt, which was brought and presented to Cook by a comely young chief, attended by two of those Indians whom we supposed to be Asiatics. The chief seemed anxious to explain to Cook the meaning of the present and the purport of his visit; and he was so far successful as to persuade him that there were some strangers in the country who were white, and had come over the great waters in a vessel somewhat like ours, and, though not so large, was yet much larger than theirs.

“In consequence of this, Cook was determined to explore the island. It was difficult, however, to



fix upon a plan that would at once answer the purposes of safety and expedition. An armed body would proceed slowly, and, if they should be cut off by the Indians, the loss in our present circumstances would be irreparable; and a single person would entirely risk his life, though he would be much more expeditious if unmolested, and if he should be killed the loss would be only one. The latter seemed the best; but it was extremely hard to single out an individual and command him to go upon such an expedition; and it was therefore thought proper to send a volunteer or none. I was at this time, and indeed ever after, an intimate friend of John Gore, first lieutenant of the Resolution, a native of America as well as myself, and superior to me in command. He recommended me to Captain Cook to undertake the expedition, with which I immediately acquiesced. Captain Cook assured me that he was happy I had undertaken it, as he was convinced I should persevere; and, after giving me some instructions how to proceed, he wished me well, and desired I would not be longer absent than a week if possible, at the expiration of which he should expect me to return. If I did not return by that time he should wait another week for me, and no longer. The young chief before mentioned and his two attendants were to be my

guides. I took with me some presents adapted to the taste of the Indians,—brandy in bottles, and bread, but no other provisions. I went entirely unarmed, by the advice of Captain Cook. The first day we proceeded about fifteen miles into the interior part of the island without any remarkable occurrence, until we approached a village just before night. This village consisted of about thirty huts, some of them large and spacious, though not very high. The huts are composed of a kind of slight frame erected over a square hole sunk about four feet into the ground: the frame is covered at the bottom with turf, and upward it is thatched with coarse grass. The whole village was out to see us, and men, women, and children crowded about me. I was conducted, by the young chief who was my guide and seemed proud and assiduous to serve me, into one of the largest huts. I was surprised at the behavior of the Indians; for, though they were curious to see me, yet they did not express that extraordinary curiosity that would be expected had they never seen a European before, and I was glad to perceive it, as it was an evidence in favor of what I wished to find,—namely, that there were Europeans now among them. The women of the house, which were almost the only ones I had seen at this island, were much more tolerable than I expected to find

them: one in particular seemed very busy to please me: to her, therefore, I made several presents, with which she was extremely well pleased. As it was now dark, my young chief intimated to me that we must tarry where we were that night and proceed farther the next day, to which I very readily consented, being much fatigued. Our entertainment the subsequent part of the evening did not consist of delicacies or much variety: they had dried fish, and I had bread and spirits, of which we all participated. Ceremony was not invited to the feast, and nature presided over the entertainment.

“At daylight Perpheela (which was the name of the young chief that was my guide) let me know that he was ready to go on; upon which I flung off the skins I had slept in, put on my shoes and outside vest, and arose to accompany him, repeating my presents to my friendly hosts. We had hitherto travelled in a northerly direction, but now went to the westward and southward. I was now so much relieved from the apprehension of any insult or injury from the Indians, that my journey would have been agreeable had I not been taken lame with a swelling in the feet, which rendered it extremely painful to walk: the country was also rough and hilly, and the weather wet and cold. About three hours before dark we came to a large bay, which

appeared to be four leagues over. Here my guide, Perpheela, took a canoe and all our baggage and set off, seemingly to cross the bay. He appeared to leave me in an abrupt manner, and told me to follow the two attendants. This gave me some uneasiness. I now followed Perpheela's two attendants, keeping the bay in view; but we had not gone above six miles before we saw a canoe approaching us from the opposite side of the bay, in which were two Indians. As soon as my guides saw the canoe, we ran to the shore from the hills and hailed them, and, finding they did not hear us, we got some bushes and waved them in the air, which they saw and stood directly for us. This canoe was sent by Perpheela to bring me across the bay and shorten the distance of the journey.

"It was beginning to be dark when the canoe came to us. It was a skin canoe, after the Esquimaux plan, with two holes to accommodate two sitters. The Indians that came in the canoe talked a little with my two guides, and then came to me and desired that I would get into the canoe. This I did not very readily agree to, however, as there was no other place for me but to be thrust into the space between the holes, extended at length upon my back, and wholly excluded from seeing the way I went, or the power of extricating myself upon any



emergency. But, as there was no alternative, I submitted thus to be stowed away in bulk, and went, head foremost, very swift through the water about an hour, when I felt the canoe strike a beach, and afterward lifted up and carried some distance and then set down again; after which I was drawn out by the shoulders by three or four men, for it was now so dark that I could not tell who they were, though I was conscious I heard a language that was new. I was conducted by two of these persons, who appeared to be strangers, about forty rods, when I saw lights and a number of huts like those I left in the morning. As we approached one of them, a door opened and discovered a lamp, by which, to my joy and surprise, I discovered that the two men who held me by each arm were Europeans, fair and comely, and concluded from their appearance they were Russians, which I soon after found to be true. As we entered the hut, which was particularly long, I saw arranged on each side, on a platform of plank, a number of Indians, who all bowed to me; and as I advanced to the farther end of the hut there were other Russians. When I reached the end of the room I was seated on a bench covered with fur-skins; and, as I was much fatigued, wet, and cold, I had a change of garments brought me, consisting of a blue silk shirt and

drawers, a fur cap, boots, and gown, all of which I put on with the same cheerfulness they were presented with. Hospitality is a virtue peculiar to man, and the obligation is as great to receive as to confer. As soon as I was rendered warm and comfortable, a table was set before me with a lamp upon it: all the Russians in the house sat down round me, and the bottles of spirits, tobacco, snuff, and whatever Perpheela had, were brought and set upon it: these I presented to the company, intimating that they were presents from Commodore Cook, who was an Englishman. One of the company then gave me to understand that all the white people I saw there were subjects of the Empress Catherine of Russia, and rose and kissed my hand, the rest uncovering their heads. I then informed them as well as I could that Commodore Cook wanted to see some of them, and had sent me there to conduct them to our ships.

“These preliminaries over, we had supper, which consisted of boiled whale, halibut fried in oil, and broiled salmon. The latter I ate, and they gave me rye-bread, but would eat none of it themselves. They were very fond of the rum, which they drank without any mixture or measure. I had a very comfortable bed, composed of different fur-skins, both under and over me, and, being harassed the

preceding day, I went soon to rest. After I had lain down, the Russians assembled the Indians in a very silent manner, and said prayers after the manner of the Greek Church, which is much like the Roman. I could not but observe with what particular satisfaction the Indians performed their devoirs to God through the medium of their little crucifixes, and with what pleasure they went through the multitude of ceremonies attendant on that sort of worship. I think it a religion the best calculated in the world to gain proselytes, when the people are either unwilling or unable to speculate, or when they cannot be made acquainted with the history and principles of Christianity without a formal education.

“I had a very comfortable night’s rest, and did not wake the next morning until late. As soon as I was up, I was conducted to a hut a little distance from the one I had slept in, where I saw a number of platforms raised about three feet from the ground, and covered with dry, coarse grass and some small, green bushes. There were several of the Russians already here, besides those that conducted me, and several Indians, who were heating water in a large copper caldron over a furnace, the heat of which and the steam which evaporated from the hot water rendered the hut, which was very tight,

extremely hot and suffocating. I soon understood this was a hot bath, of which I was asked to make use in a friendly manner. The apparatus being a little curious, I consented to it; but, before I had finished undressing myself, I was overcome by the sudden change of the air, fainted away, and fell back on the platform I was sitting on. I was, however, soon relieved by having cold and lukewarm water administered to my face and different parts of my body. I finished undressing and proceeded as I saw the rest do, who were now all undressed. The Indians who served us brought us, as we sat or extended ourselves on the platforms, water of different temperatures,—from that which was as hot as we could bear to quite cold. The hot water was accompanied with some hard soap and a flesh-brush: it was not, however, thrown on the body from the dish, but sprinkled on with the green bushes. After this the water made use of was less warm, and by several gradations became at last quite cold, which concluded the ceremony. We again dressed and returned to our lodgings, where our breakfast was smoking on the table; but the flavor of our feast, as well as its appearance, had nearly produced a relapse in my spirits, and no doubt would if I had not had recourse to some of the brandy I had brought, which happily saved me. I was a good



deal uneasy lest the cause of my discomposure should disoblige my friends, who meant to treat me in the best manner they could. I therefore attributed my illness to the bath, which might possibly have partly occasioned it, for I am not very subject to fainting. I could eat none of the breakfast, however, though far from wanting an appetite. It was mostly of whale, sea-horse, and bear, which, though smoked, dried, and boiled, produced a composition of smells very offensive at nine or ten in the morning. I therefore desired to have a piece of smoked salmon broiled dry, which I ate with some of my own biscuit.

“After breakfast I intended to set off on my return to the ships, though there came on a disagreeable snow-storm. But my new-found friends objected to it, and gave me to understand that I should go the next day, and, if I chose, three of them would accompany me. This I immediately agreed to, as it anticipated a favor I intended to ask them, though I before much doubted whether they would comply with it. I amused myself within-doors while it snowed without by writing down a few words of the original languages of the American Indians, and of the Asiatics who came over to this coast with these Russians from Kamtschatka.

“In the afternoon the weather cleared up, and I

went out to see how those Russian adventurers were situated. I found the whole village to contain about thirty huts, all of which were built partly under ground, and covered with turf at the bottom and coarse grass at the top. The only circumstance that can recommend them is their warmth, which is occasioned partly by their manner of construction, and partly by a kind of oven in which they constantly keep a fire night and day. They sleep on platforms built on each side of the hut, on which they have a number of bear and other skins which render them comfortable; and, as they have been educated in a hardy manner, they need little or no other support than what they procure from the sea and from hunting. The number of Russians was about thirty, and they had with them about seventy Kamtschadales, or Indians from Kamtschatka. These, with some of the American Indians, whom they had entered into friendship with, occupied the village, enjoyed every benefit in common with the Russians, and were converts to their religion. Such other of the aborigines of the island as had not become converts to their sentiments in religious and civil matters were excluded from such privileges, and were prohibited from wearing certain arms.

“I also found a small sloop, of about thirty tons’

burden, lying in a cove behind the village, and a hut near her containing her sails, cordage, and other sea-equipage, and one old iron three-pounder. It is natural to an ingenious mind, when it enters a town, a house, or ship, that has been rendered famous by any particular event, to feel the full force of that pleasure which results from gratifying a noble curiosity. I was no sooner informed that this sloop was the same in which the famous Behring had performed those discoveries which did him so much honor and his country so much service, than I was determined to go on board of her and indulge the generous feelings the occasion inspired. I intimated my wishes to the man that accompanied me, who went back to the village and brought a canoe, in which we went on board, where I remained about an hour and then returned. This little bark belonged to Kamtschatka, and came from thence with the Asiatics already mentioned to this island, which they called Onalaska, in order to establish a pelt and fur factory. They had been here about five years, and go over to Kamtschatka in her once a year to deliver their merchandise and get a recruit of such supplies as they need from the chief factory there, of which I shall take further notice hereafter.

“The next day I set off from this village, well satisfied with the happy issue of a tour which was

now as agreeable as it was at first undesirable. I was accompanied by three of the principal Russians and some attendants. We embarked at the village in a large skin boat, much like our large whale-boats, rowing with twelve oars; and, as we struck directly across the bay, we shortened our distance several miles, and the next day, passing the same village I had before been at, we arrived by sunset at the bay where the ships lay, and before dark I got on board with my new acquaintances. The satisfaction this discovery gave Cook, and the honor that redounded to me, may be easily imagined, and the several conjectures respecting the appearance of a foreign intercourse were rectified and confirmed."

Having left the continent, Cook steered again for the Sandwich Islands. After a voyage of two months he reached the Bay of Hawaii. He and his associates were at first received by the chiefs and the inhabitants of the island with the most friendly welcome. The populous villages which clustered along the shores of the capacious bay poured out their joyous inhabitants to receive him. They bought and sold, and made reciprocal presents; but, before two weeks had expired, symptoms of unfriendliness and suspicion on the part of the natives began to appear. Ledyard thus pictures some of the



tropical scenes which he witnessed in the interior of this fertile and beautiful gem of the ocean, in consequence of his having made a request to be permitted to explore it:—

“The request was granted. The botanist and the gunner of the *Resolution* were deputed by the commander to accompany him. Natives were also engaged to carry the baggage and serve as guides through the woods. A tropical sun was then pouring its rays on them at the Bay of Kearakekua; but the snows visible on the peak of Mouna Roa warned them to provide additional clothing, and guard against the effects of a sudden transition from heat to cold. The party at length set off. On first leaving the town, their route lay through enclosed plantations of sweet potatoes, with a soil of lava, tilled in some places with difficulty. Now and then a patch of sugarcane was seen in a moist place. Next came the open plantations, consisting chiefly of bread-fruit trees, and the land began to ascend more abruptly.

“We continued up the ascent,” he writes, “to the distance of a mile and a half farther, and found the land thick covered with wild fern, among which our botanist found a new species. It was now near sunset, and, being upon the skirts of these woods that so remarkably surrounded this island at a uni-

form distance of four or five miles from the shore, we concluded to halt, especially as there was a hut hard by that would afford us a better retreat during the night than what we might expect if we proceeded. When we reached the hut, we found it inhabited by an elderly man, his wife and daughter, an emblem of innocent, uninstructed beauty. They were somewhat discomposed at our appearance and equipment, and would have left their house through fear, had not the Indians who accompanied us persuaded them otherwise, and at last reconciled them to us. We sat down together before the door, and from the height of the situation we had a complete retrospective view of our route, of the town, of part of the bay, and one of our ships, besides an extensive prospect on the ocean and a distant view of three of the neighboring islands.

“As we had proposed remaining at this hut through the night, and were willing to preserve what provisions we had ready dressed, we purchased a little pig and had him dressed by our host, who, finding his account in his visitants, bestirred himself and soon had it ready. After supper we had some of our brandy diluted with the mountain-water; and we had so long been confined to the poor brackish water at the bay below that it was a kind of nectar to us. As soon as the sun was set,

we found a considerable difference in the state of the air. At night a heavy dew fell; and we felt it very chilly, and had recourse to our blankets, notwithstanding we were in the hut. The next morning, when we came to enter the woods, we found there had been a heavy rain, though none of it had approached us, notwithstanding we were within two hundred yards of the skirts of the forest. And it seemed to be a matter of fact, both from the information of the natives and our own observations, that neither the rains nor the dews descended lower than where the woods terminated, unless at the equinoxes or some periodical conjuncture, by which means the space between the woods and the shore is rendered warm and fit for the purpose of culture and the vegetation of tropical productions. We traversed these woods by a compass, keeping a direct course for the peak, and were so happy the first day as to find a footpath that tended nearly our due course, by which means we travelled by estimation about fifteen miles; and, though it would have been no extraordinary march had circumstances been different, yet, as we found them, we thought it a very great one; for it was not only excessively miry and rough, but the way was mostly an ascent, and we had been unused to walking, and especially to carrying such loads as we had. Our Indian com-

panions were much more fatigued than we were, though they had nothing to carry, and, what displeased us very much, would not carry any thing. Our botanical researches delayed us somewhat. The sun had not set when we halted; yet, meeting with a situation that pleased us, and not being limited as to time, we spent the remaining part of the day as humor dictated,—some in botanizing, and those who had fowling-pieces with them, in shooting. For my part, I could not but think the present appearance of our encampment claimed a part of our attention, and therefore set about some alterations and amendments. It was the trunk of a tree, that had fallen by the side of the path, and lay with one end transversely over another tree, that had fallen before in an opposite direction; and as it measured twenty-two feet in circumference, and lay four feet from the ground, it afforded a very good shelter except at the sides, which defect I supplied by large pieces of bark and a good quantity of boughs, which rendered it very commodious. We slept through the night under it much better than we had done the preceding, notwithstanding there was a heavy dew and the air cold.

“The next morning we set out in good spirits, hoping that day to reach the snowy peak; but we had not gone a mile before the path that had hitherto



so much facilitated our progress began not only to take a direction southward of west, but had been so little frequented as to be almost effaced. In this situation we consulted our Indian convoy, but to no purpose. We then advised among ourselves, and at length concluded to proceed by the nearest route without any beaten track, and went in this manner about four miles farther, finding the way even more steep and rough than we had yet experienced, but above all impeded by such impenetrable thickets as to render it impossible for us to proceed any farther. We therefore abandoned our design, and, returning in our track, reached the retreat we had improved the last night, having been the whole day in walking only about ten miles,—and we had been very assiduous too. We found the country here, as well as on the sea-shore, universally overspread with lava, and also saw several subterranean excavations that had every appearance of past eruption and fire. Our botanist to-day met with great success, and we had also shot a number of fine birds of the liveliest and most variegated plumage that any of us had ever met with; but we heard no melody among them. Except these, we saw no other kind of birds but the screech-owl, neither did we see any kind of quadruped; but we caught several curious insects. The woods here are thick and luxuriant, the largest

trees being nearly thirty feet in the girth, and these, with the shrubbery underneath, and the whole intersected with vines, render it very umbrageous.

“The next day, about two in the afternoon, we cleared the woods by our old route, and by six o’clock reached the tents, having penetrated about twenty-four miles, and, we supposed, within eleven of the peak. Our Indians were extremely fatigued, though they had no baggage.”

After sojourning twenty days at Hawaii, Captain Cook weighed anchor and sailed away. A furious storm compelled him to return, and during the succeeding days those unfortunate disputes arose between the commander and the inhabitants of the island, which eventually led to the assassination of Captain Cook, and the premature termination of the life and adventures of one of the most remarkable navigators of modern times. The incidents connected with this event have often been narrated; but, as Ledyard was an eye-witness of the memorable scene, and as his account is doubtless the most accurate and trustworthy which has ever been given, we here extract it, notwithstanding its length, from his journal:

“Our return to this bay was as disagreeable to us as it was to the inhabitants, for we were reciprocally tired of each other. They had been oppressed and were weary of our prostituted alliance, and we

were aggrieved by the consideration of wanting the provisions and refreshments of the country, which we had every reason to suppose from their behavior antecedent to our departure, would now be withheld from us, or brought in such small quantities as to be worse than none. What we anticipated was true. When we entered the bay, where before we had the shouts of thousands to welcome our arrival, we had the mortification not to see a single canoe, and hardly any inhabitants in the towns. Cook was chagrined and his people were soured. Toward night, however, the canoes came in; but the provisions both in quantity and quality plainly informed us that times were altered; and what was very remarkable was the exorbitant price they asked and the particular fancy they all at once took to iron daggers or dirks, which were the only articles that were anyways current with the chiefs at least. It was also equally evident from the looks of the natives, as well as every other appearance, that our former friendship was at an end, and that we had nothing to do but to hasten our departure to some different island, where our vices were not known, and where our intrinsic virtues might gain us another short space of being wondered at and doing as we pleased, or, as our tars expressed it, of being happy by the month.

“Nor was their passive appearance of disgust all we had to fear, nor did it continue long. Before dark a canoe with a number of armed chiefs came alongside of us without provisions, and, indeed, without any perceptible design. After staying a short time only, they went to the Discovery, where a part of them went on board. Here they affected great friendship; and, fortunately, overacting it, Clerke was suspicious, and ordered two sentinels on the gangways. These men were purposely sent by the chief who had formerly been so very intimate with Clerke and afterward so ill treated by him with the charge of stealing his jolly-boat. They came with a determination of mischief, and effected it. After they were all returned to the canoe but one, they got their paddles and every thing ready for a start. Those in the canoes, observing the sentry to be watchful, took off his attention by some conversation that they knew would be pleasing to him, and by this means favored the designs of the man on board, who, watching his opportunity, snatched two pairs of tongs, and other iron tools that then lay close by the armorers at work at the forge, and, mounting the gangway-rail, with one leap threw himself and his goods into the canoe, that was then upon the move, and, taking up his paddle, joined the others; and, standing directly for the shore, they were out



of our reach almost instantaneously, even before a musket could be had from the arms-chest to fire at them. The sentries had only hangers. This was the boldest exploit that had yet been attempted, and had a bad aspect. Clerke immediately sent to the commodore, who advised him to send a boat on shore to endeavor at least to regain the goods, if they could not the men who took them; but the errand was as ill executed as contrived, and the master of the *Discovery* was glad to return with a severe drubbing from the very chief who had been so maltreated by Clerke. The crew were also pelted with stones and had all their oars broken, and they had not a single weapon in the boat, not even a cutlass, to defend themselves. When Cook heard of this, he went armed himself in person to the guard on shore, took a file of marines, and went through the whole town, demanding restitution, and threatening the delinquents and their abettors with the severest punishment; but, not being able to effect any thing, he came off just at sunset, highly displeased, and not a little concerned at the bad appearance of things. But even this was nothing to what followed.

“On the 13th, at night, the *Discovery*’s large cutter, which was at her usual moorings at the bower buoy, was taken away. On the 14th the

captains met to consult what should be done on this alarming occasion; and the issue of their opinions was, that one of the two captains should land with armed boats and a guard of marines at Kiverua, and attempt to persuade Teraïobu, who was then at his house in that town, to come on board upon a visit, and that when he was on board he should be kept prisoner until his subjects should release him by a restitution of the cutter; and, if it was afterward thought proper, he, or some of the family who might accompany him, should be kept as perpetual hostages for the good behavior of the people during the remaining part of our continuance at Kearakekua. This plan was the more approved of by Cook, as he had so repeatedly on former occasions to the southward employed it with success. Clerke was then in a deep decline of his health, and too feeble to undertake the affair, though it naturally devolved upon him, as a point of duty not well transferable: he therefore begged Cook to oblige him so much as to take that part of the business of the day upon himself in his stead. This Cook agreed to, but previous to his landing made some additional arrangements. respecting the possible events of things, though it is certain, from the appearance of the subsequent arrangements, that he guarded more against the flight of Teraïobu, or

those he could wish to see, than from an attack, or even much insult. The disposition of our guards, when the movements began, was thus: Cook in his pinnace with six private marines; a corporal, sergeant, and two lieutenants of marines went ahead, followed by the launch with other marines and seamen on one quarter, and the small cutter on the other, with only the crew on board. This part of the guard rowed for Kearakekua. Our large cutter and two boats from the *Discovery* had orders to proceed to the mouth of the bay, form at equal distances across, and prevent any communication by water from any other part of the island to the towns within the bay, or from those without. Cook landed at Kiverua about nine o'clock in the morning, with the marines in the pinnace, and went by a circuitous march to the house of Teraïobu, in order to evade the suspicion of any design. This route led through a considerable part of the town, which discovered every symptom of mischief,—though Cook, blinded by some fatal cause, could not perceive it, or, too self-confident, would not regard it.

“The town was evacuated by the women and children, who had retired to the circumjacent hills, and appeared almost destitute of men; but there were at that time two hundred chiefs, and more than twice that number of other men, de-

tached and secreted in different parts of the houses nearest to Teraïobu, exclusive of unknown numbers without the skirts of the town; and those that were seen were dressed, many of them, in black. When the guard reached Teraïobu's house, Cook ordered the lieutenant of marines to go in and see if he was at home, and, if he was, to bring him out. The lieutenant went in, and found the old man sitting with two or three old women of distinction; and when he gave Teraïobu to understand that Cook was without and wanted to see him, he discovered the greatest marks of uneasiness, but arose and accompanied the lieutenant out, holding his hand. When he came before Cook he squatted down upon his hams as a mark of humiliation, and Cook took him by the hand from the lieutenant, and conversed with him.

“The appearance of our parade both by water and on shore, though conducted with the utmost silence, and with as little ostentation as possible, had alarmed the towns on both sides of the bay, but particularly Kiverua, where the people were in complete order for an onset: otherwise it would have been a matter of surprise, that though Cook did not see twenty men in passing through the town, yet, before he had conversed ten minutes with Teraïobu, he was surrounded by three or four



hundred people, and above half of them chiefs. Cook grew uneasy when he observed this, and was the more urgent in his persuasions with Teraïobu to go on board, and actually persuaded the old man to go at length, and led him within a rod or two of the shore; but the just fears and conjectures of the chiefs at last interposed. They held the old man back, and one of the chiefs threatened Cook when he attempted to make them quit Teraïobu. Some of the crowd now cried out that Cook was going to take their king from them to kill him; and there was one in particular that advanced toward Cook in an attitude that alarmed one of the guard, who presented his bayonet and opposed him, acquainting Cook in the mean time of the danger of his situation, and that the Indians in a few minutes would attack him,—that he had overheard the man whom he had just stopped from rushing in upon him say that our boats which were out in the harbor had just killed his brother, and he would be revenged. Cook attended to what this man said, and desired him to show him the Indian that had dared to attempt a combat with him; and, as soon as he was pointed out, Cook fired at him with a blank. The Indian, perceiving he received no damage from the fire, rushed from without the crowd a second time, and threatened any one that should oppose him.

Cook, perceiving this, fired a ball, which entering the Indian's groin, he fell and was drawn off by the rest.

“Cook perceiving the people determined to oppose his designs, and that he should not succeed without further bloodshed, ordered the lieutenant of marines, Mr. Phillips, to withdraw his men and get them into the boats, which were then lying ready to receive them. This was effected by the sergeant; but the instant they began to retreat, Cook was hit with a stone, and, perceiving the man who threw it, shot him dead. The officer in the boats, observing the guards retreat and hearing this third discharge, ordered the boats to fire. This occasioned the guard to face about and fire, and then the attack became general. Cook and Mr. Phillips were together a few paces in the rear of the guard, and, perceiving a general fire without orders, quitted Teraibu and ran to the shore to put a stop to it; but, not being able to make themselves heard, and being close pressed upon by the chiefs, they joined the guard, who fired as they retreated. Cook, having at length reached the margin of the water, between the fire of the boats, waved with his hat for them to cease firing and come in; and, while he was doing this, a chief from behind stabbed him with one of our iron daggers, just under the shoul-

der-blade, and it passed quite through his body. Cook fell with his face in the water and immediately expired. Mr. Phillips, not being able any longer to use his fusee, drew his sword, and, engaging the chief whom he saw kill Cook, soon despatched him. His guard in the mean time were all killed but two, and they had plunged into the water and were swimming to the boats. He stood thus for some time the butt of all their force, and, being as complete in the use of his sword as he was accomplished, his noble achievements struck the barbarians with awe; but being wounded, and growing faint from loss of blood and excessive action, he plunged into the sea with his sword in his hand and swam to the boats; where, however, he was scarcely taken on board, before somebody saw one of the marines that had swam from the shore lying flat upon the bottom. Phillips, hearing this, ran aft, threw himself in after him, and brought him up with him to the surface of the water, and both were taken in.

“The boats had hitherto kept up a very hot fire, and, lying off without the reach of any weapon but stones, had received no damage; and, being fully at leisure to keep up an unremitted and uniform action, made great havoc among the Indians, particularly among the chiefs, who stood foremost in the crowd and were most exposed; but whether it

was from their bravery, or ignorance of the real cause that deprived so many of them of life, that they made such a stand, may be questioned, since it is certain that they in general, if not universally, understood heretofore that it was the fire only of our arms that destroyed them. This opinion seems to be strengthened by the circumstance of the large, thick mats they were observed to wear, which were also constantly kept wet; and, furthermore, the Indian that Cook fired at with a blank discovered no fear when he found his mat unburnt, saying in their language, when he showed it to the by-standers, that no fire had touched it. This may be supposed at least to have had some influence. It is, however, certain, whether from one or both these causes, that the numbers that fell made no apparent impression on those who survived: they were immediately taken off, and had their places supplied in a constant succession.

“Lieutenant Gore, who commanded as first lieutenant under Cook in the *Resolution*, which lay opposite the place where this attack was made, perceiving with his glass that the guard on shore was cut off, and that Cook had fallen, immediately passed a spring upon one of the cables, and, bringing the ship's starboard guns to bear, fired two round-shot over the boats into the middle of the



crowd; and both the thunder of the cannon and the effects of the shot operated so powerfully that it produced a most precipitate retreat from the shore to the town.

“Our mast that was repairing at Kearakekua, and our astronomical tents, were protected only by a corporal and six marines, exclusive of the carpenters at work upon it, and demanded immediate protection. As soon, therefore, as the people were refreshed with some grog and reinforced, they were ordered thither. In the mean time, the marine who had been taken up by Mr. Phillips discovered returning life, and seemed in a way to recover, and we found Mr. Phillips’s wound not dangerous, though very bad. We also observed at Kiyerua that our dead were drawn off by the Indians, which was a mortifying sight; but after the boats were gone they did it in spite of our cannon, which were firing at them several minutes. They had no sooner effected this matter than they retired to the hills to avoid our shot. The expedition to Kiverua had taken up about an hour and a half, and we lost, besides Cook, a corporal and three marines.

“Notwithstanding the despatch that was used in sending a force to Kearakekua, the small party there were already attacked before their arrival, but, by an excellent manœuvre of taking possession of the

Morai, they defended themselves, without any material damage, until the succours came. The natives did not attempt to molest the boats in their debarkation of our people, which we much wondered at; and they soon joined the others upon the Morai, amounting in the whole to about sixty. Mr. Phillips, notwithstanding his wound, was present, and, in conjunction with Lieutenant King, carried the chief command. The plan was to act only defensively, until we could get our mast into the water, to tow off, and our tents into the boats; and, as soon as that was effected, to return on board. This we did in about an hour's time, but not without killing a number of the natives, who resolutely attacked us, and endeavored to mount the walls of the Morai where they were lowest; but, being opposed with our skill in such modes of attack, and the great superiority of our arms, they were even repulsed with loss, and at length retreated among the houses adjacent to the Morai, which affording a good opportunity to retreat to our boats, we embraced it, and got off all well. Our mast was taken on the booms and repaired there, though to disadvantage."

## CHAPTER III.

### LEDYARD'S ADVENTURES IN FRANCE, RUSSIA, AND SIBERIA.

AFTER Ledyard's return from his voyage with Captain Cook, he remained two years in the British navy, in some subordinate capacity which is now unknown. In December, 1782, he returned to the United States on board a British man-of-war. His first desire was to visit his mother, who still resided at Southold. The meeting between them was affecting in the extreme; for one of the greatest merits of the disposition and character of Ledyard was his affectionate regard for his mother. From Southold he proceeded to Hartford, where he remained four months, and wrote his published narrative of the last voyage of Captain Cook.

Ledyard now resumed his plans and speculations in reference to his favorite project of a trading-voyage to the Northwest coast. His observation had led him to believe that an immense profit might be made by the sale of furs which were to be purchased from the natives. But to carry out his plans

a ship and other proper facilities were necessary. In order to obtain a partner possessing the requisite means, he visited New York and Philadelphia, and did his utmost to enlist the interest of some opulent ship-merchants. He labored and argued in vain. Scores of shrewd and enterprising merchants in those cities refused and derided the very same enterprise which, in after-years, built the colossal fortune of J. J. Astor. At length, in despair of accomplishing any thing in his own country, Ledyard sought and obtained a passage to Europe. On the 1st of June, 1784, he sailed for Cadiz. He had been led to believe that he should find patrons in the city of L'Orient. He was still very poor, and found much difficulty in obtaining the means of travel to that city. Having arrived, he immediately presented himself with his letters of recommendation to the leading merchants of the place. At first his earnest representations and his glowing arguments in favor of his commercial scheme, enlisted their sympathy and favor. They agreed to despatch a vessel to the designated coast; but they found the season too late for that year, and were compelled to postpone the execution of the plan to the next. Ledyard spent the winter in L'Orient in restless impatience, waiting for the spring to open. When that period arrived, the



merchants who had promised to undertake the enterprise for some reason refused to fulfil their engagements, and abandoned it. All the brilliant hopes of Ledyard were thus again disappointed and he himself overwhelmed with despair. His means were exhausted. After fifteen years' experience of the world, he still remained without having accomplished a single purpose upon which he had set his heart, or which was worthy of his genius.

He nevertheless bore up manfully against his adverse and unpropitious fate. He proceeded to Paris, and there visited the American minister, Mr. Jefferson. He was received with great kindness by that liberal-minded statesman, who at once appreciated the largeness and the sagacity of his views. He introduced Ledyard to the celebrated Paul Jones. The latter became interested in the speculations and theories of Ledyard, and proposed to realize them. Two vessels were to be chartered for the purpose and commissioned by the king, Louis XVI. After being deeply interested in the enterprise for a short time, Jones suddenly cooled in his ardor, demurred to the arrangements proposed, and eventually abandoned the project entirely. Thus was Ledyard again adrift in the world, with the bad fortune which usually attended him. During his residence in Paris he saw much of the court,

and even had glimpses of the royal family,—that ill-fated family whose terrible misfortunes were soon to begin, and were to end so ignominiously on the scaffold. The distant and subdued mutterings of that fearful revolution which shook every throne in Europe were already faintly heard. The contemporary observations of this astute traveller on the existing state of things in France, as recorded in his journal, are worthy of note. We make an extract from it as illustrative of his views and opinions:

“Paris is situated in an extended plain, rising on all sides into gradual elevations, and some little hills happily interspersed in the borders of its horizon. Its extent, viewed from the tower of Notre Dame, appeared to me less than London, though it must be larger. The public buildings are numerous, and some of them magnificent. Paris is the centre of France, and its centre is the Palais Royal, the resort of the greatest virtues and the greatest vices of such a kingdom. It is France in miniature, and no friend to France should ever see it. The Tuileries afford a consummate display of artificial elegance and grandeur; the gardens of the Luxembourg are much inferior. The Boulevards were originally fortifications, and they now form a broad way that surrounds the city, separating it from the suburbs. It is well lined with fine umbrageous elms on each

side, forming a beautiful course for coaches and horsemen; but the farmers-general, to prevent illicit trade, are walling it in, at the expense of a thousand lamentations of the Parisians and several millions of livres. I have been once at the king's library. Papa Franklin, as the French here call him, is among a number of statues that I saw. The bust of Paul Jones is also there. Did you ever know that Captain Jones was two or three nights successively crowned with laurels, at the great Opera House in Paris, after the action between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis?

"I find at our minister's table between fifteen and twenty Americans, inclusive of two or three ladies. It is very remarkable that we are neither despised nor envied for our love of liberty, but very often caressed. I was yesterday at Versailles. It was the feast of St. Louis; but I never feasted so ill in all my life as at the hotel where I dined, and never paid so dear for a dinner. I was too late to see the procession of the king and queen; but I was little disappointed on that account, as I had already seen those baubles. The king I saw a fortnight before to very great advantage, being near to him while he was shooting partridges in the fields. He was dressed in common musquito trowsers, a short linen frock, and an old laced hat without a cockade. He

had an easy, gentlemanly appearance; and, had it not been for his few attendants, I should have taken him for the captain of a merchant-ship amusing himself in the field. The palace at Versailles, and its gardens, are an ornament to the face of the globe. It was dirty weather. I wore boots, and, consequently, was prohibited from visiting the galleries. I was in company with our Mr. Barclay, Colonel Franks of the American army, a young Virginian, and an English sea-officer. Franks was booted too; but, though honest Tom Barclay was not, he had no bag on, and they were dismissed also: so that boots on and bags off are sad recommendations at the court of Versailles.

“If the two Fitzhughs remain in town a week longer, you shall have a week’s detail. They dine with me to-day in my chamber, together with our worthy Consul Barclay, and that lump of universality, Colonel Franks. But such a set of moneyless rascals have never appeared since the epoch of the happy villain Falstaff. I have but five French crowns in the world; Franks has not a sol; and the Fitzhughs cannot get their tobacco-money.

“Mr. Jefferson is an able minister, and our country may repose a confidence in him equal to their best wishes. Whether in public or private, he is, in every word and every action, the representative of



a young, vigorous, and determined state. His only competitors here, even in political fame, are Vergennes and La Fayette. In other accomplishments he stands alone. The Marquis de la Fayette is one of the most growing characters in this kingdom. He has planted a tree in America and sits under its shade at Versailles. He is now at the court of old Frederick. I am sure that you could not yourself have manifested more alacrity to serve me than he has done. The marquis is a warm friend to America. It will be difficult for any subsequent plenipotentiary to have as much personal influence in France as Dr. Franklin had; it will at least be so till the causes which created that venerable patriot's ascendancy shall become less recent in the minds of the people. I had the pleasure of being but once at his house before his departure; and, although bent down with age and infirmities, the excellent old man exhibited all the good cheer of health, the gay philosopher, and the kindness of a friendly countryman.

"It has been a holiday to-day,—the nativity of the Virgin Mary. My friend, the Abbé D'Aubrey, tells me that they have but eighty-two holidays in the year which are publicly regarded. But this is a mistake: they have more. We both agree that they have eighty-two less than they formerly had. There

are certainly a hundred days in this city every year whereon all the shops are shut and there is a general suspension of business,—for the good policy of which, let them look to it. You will hear in your papers of an affair between a certain cardinal and the Queen of France. It has been the topic of conversation here for thirty days; and forty fools, that have expressed themselves too freely in the matter for the police, are already in the Bastille. We have news to-day that the king will have him tried by the Parliament, and has written to that dying meteor, the pope, not to meddle in the business.

“I was late home yesterday evening from the feast of St. Cloud, held at a little town of that name on the bank of the Seine. It is particularly remarkable for having the queen’s gardens in it, and a house for the queen, called a palace. The chief circumstance which renders the village a place of curiosity to strangers is the water-works, which, after the labor of many years and vast expense, exhibit a sickly cascade, and three *jets d’eau*, or fountains, that cast water into the air. The largest of these throws out a column as big as a man’s arm, which rises about thirty yards. In the evening I entered a part of the gardens where some fireworks were played off. The tickets were twenty-four sols.

The fireworks were very few, but good. This little rustic entertainment of the queen's was, with great propriety, attended with very little parade about her person. It was a mere rural revel; and never before did I see majesty and tag-rag so philosophically blended,—a few country fiddlers scraping, and Kate of the mill tripping it with Dick of the vineyard.

“Thus you see how some few of my days pass away. I see a great deal, and think a great deal, but derive little pleasure from either, because I am forced into both, and am alone in both.”

The amazing perseverance which characterized Ledyard's character is illustrated by the pertinacity with which he still adhered to his project in reference to the American fur-trade. Being prevented by many disappointments from reaching the Northwest coast by sea, he determined to travel thither by land. His route would lie through the boundless and frozen plains of Siberia, where very great perils would surround him. He was almost without means or any of the necessary facilities for such a journey. Yet he did not despair. He succeeded, after considerable trouble and delay, in obtaining the permission of the Empress Catherine II. to travel through her dominions. He proceeded to Hamburg, thence to Copenhagen, and arrived at St. Petersburg after traversing Sweden, Lapland, and Finland

on foot in the midst of winter. When he passed through the village of Tornea, he found all the streets deserted and the houses buried to their very roofs in snow. The thermometer stood thirty-seven degrees below the freezing-point. He thus speaks of this extraordinary journey:

“I cannot tell you by what means I came to Petersburg, and hardly know by what means I shall quit it in the further prosecution of my tour round the world by land. If I have any merit in the affair, it is perseverance, for most severely have I been buffeted, and yet still am even more obstinate than before; and fate, as obstinate, continues her assaults. How the matter will terminate I know not. The most probable conjecture is that I shall succeed, and be buffeted round the world as I have hitherto been from England through Denmark, through Sweden, Swedish Lapland, Swedish Finland, and the most unfrequented parts of Russian Finland, to this aurora borealis of a city. I cannot give you a history of myself since I saw you, or since I wrote you last: however abridged, it would be too long. Upon the whole, mankind have used me well; and, though I have as yet reached only the first stage of my journey, I feel myself much indebted for that urbanity which I always thought more general than many think it to be; and,



were it not for the mischievous laws and bad examples of some governments I have passed through, I am persuaded I should be able to give you a still better account of our fellow-creatures. But I am hastening to countries where goodness, if natural to the human heart, will appear independent of example, and furnish an illustration of the character of man not unworthy of him who wrote the Declaration of Independence. I did not hear of the death of M. de Vergennes until I arrived here. Permit me to express my regret at the loss of so great and so good a man. Permit me, also, to congratulate you, as the minister of my country, on account of the additional commercial privileges granted by France to America, and to express my ardent wishes that the friendly spirit which dictated them may last forever. I was extremely pleased at reading the account, and, to heighten the satisfaction, I found the name of La Fayette there.

“An equipment is now on foot here for the Sea of Kamtschatka, and it is first to visit the north-west coast of America. It is to consist of four ships. This, and the expedition that went from here twelve months since by land for Kamtschatka, are to co-operate in a design of some sort in the Northern Pacific Ocean,—the Lord knows what, nor does it matter what with me, nor indeed with

you, nor any other minister, nor any potentate, south of fifty degrees of latitude. I can only say that you are in no danger of having the luxurious repose of your charming climates disturbed by a second incursion of either Goth, Vandal, Hun, or Scythian.

“I dined to-day with Professor Pallas. He is an accomplished man, and my friend, and has travelled throughout European and Asiatic Russia. I find the little French I have of infinite service to me. I could not do without it. It is a most extraordinary language. I believe wolves, rocks, woods, and snow understand it, for I have addressed them all in it, and they have all been very complaisant to me. We had a Scythian at table, who belongs to the Royal Society of Physicians here. The moment he knew me and my designs, he became my friend; and it will be by his generous assistance, joined with that of Professor Pallas, that I shall be able to procure a royal passport, without which I cannot stir. This must be done through an application to the French minister, there being no American minister here; and to his secretary I shall apply with Dr. Pallas to-morrow, and shall take the liberty to make use of your name and that of the Marquis de la Fayette, as to my character. As all my letters of recommendation were English, and as I have

hitherto been used by the English with the greatest kindness and respect, I first applied to the British minister, but without success. The apology was that the present political condition between Russia and England would make it disagreeable for the British minister to ask any favor. The secretary of the French embassy will despatch my letter, and one of his accompanying it, to the Count Segur tomorrow morning. I will endeavor to write you again before I leave Petersburg, and give you some further accounts of myself. Meantime, I wish you health. I have written a short letter to the marquis. Adieu."

Ledyard left St. Petersburg on the 1st of June, and arrived at Moscow after a journey of six days. Thence he proceeded to Kasan. He crossed the Ural Mountains without accident, and reached Tobolsk, the former capital of Siberia. Here he tarried a short time, and at length journeyed on to Irkutsk. This city is situated nearly in the centre of the vast territories of Russia in Asia, and is the capital of a province. The forms of society, and the aspects of human life, here presented a novel and striking picture to his view; exhibiting the appearances of a community far remote from the great highways of civilization, and shut out from all familiar and frequent intercourse with the world.

## CHAPTER IV.

### LEDYARD'S FURTHER ADVENTURES IN SIBERIA.

WHEN Ledyard arrived at Yakutsk, he desired to proceed immediately to Ochotsk, which is six hundred miles farther eastward. This town is situated on the sea of that name, and marks a portion of the extreme eastern limits of the continent of Asia. It was Ledyard's intention to embark at Ochotsk in a vessel bound for the North American continent, which would thus have brought him directly to the locality around which centred all his golden dreams in reference to the lucrative fur-trade. But he was destined to proceed no farther than Yakutsk. He was at first persuaded to postpone his journey, in consequence of the severity and the perils of the weather, till the ensuing spring, through the most earnest solicitations of the commandant of Yakutsk. This personage seemed most mysteriously to take a profound interest in his welfare. He represented to Ledyard that to proceed at that time would entail certain death upon him; although Ledyard knew that the journey had been frequently made by others



in the most inclement season of the year. Says he:

“The commandant assured me that he had orders from the governor-general to render me all possible kindness and service; ‘but, sir,’ continued he, ‘the first service I am bound to render you is, to beseech you not to attempt to reach Ochotsk this winter.’ He spoke to me in French. I almost rudely insisted on being permitted to depart immediately, and expressed surprise that a Yakuti Indian and a Tartar horse should be thought incapable of following a man born and educated in the latitude of forty. He declared, upon his honor, that the journey was impracticable. The contest lasted two or three days, in which interval, being still fixed in my opinion, I was preparing for the journey. The commandant at length waited on me, and brought with him a trader, a very good, respectable-looking man of about fifty, as a witness to the truth and propriety of his advice to me. This trader, for ten or twelve years, had passed and repassed often from Yakutsk to Ochotsk. I was obliged, however severely I might lament the misfortune, to yield to two such advocates for my happiness. The trader held out to me all the horrors of the winter, and the severity of the journey at the best season; and the commandant, the goodness of his house and the society

here, all of which would be at my service. The *difficulty* of the journey I was aware of; but when I assented to its *impracticability* it was a compliment, for I do not believe it is so, nor hardly any thing else."

During the delay which thus ensued in the progress of this intrepid traveller, a singular and mysterious reverse of fortune overtook him. Without any previous notice or warning whatever, he was suddenly arrested by the express order of the Empress of Russia, and was hurried back under the guard of two soldiers, upon the interminable road toward St. Petersburg. He was thus rapidly conveyed from post to post, through the vast realms which he had but a short time before traversed under the protection of the same autocrat who now commanded his return. His guards conducted him to the confines of Poland, set him free, and then informed him that he might go where he pleased, except that, if he ever again returned into the dominions of the empress, he would certainly be hanged. He thus speaks of this mysterious vicissitude in his fate:

"I had penetrated through Europe and Asia, almost to the Pacific Ocean, but, in the midst of my career, was arrested a prisoner to the Empress of Russia, by an express sent after me for that purpose.

I passed under a guard part of last winter and spring; was banished the empire, and conveyed to the frontiers of Poland, six thousand versts from the place where I was arrested, and this journey was performed in six weeks. Cruelties and hardships are tales I leave untold. I was disappointed in the pursuit of an object on which my future fortune entirely depended. I know not how I passed through the kingdoms of Poland and Prussia, or from thence to London, where I arrived in the beginning of May, disappointed, ragged, penniless; and yet so accustomed am I to such things, that I declare my heart was whole. My health for the first time had suffered from my confinement, and the amazing rapidity with which I had been carried through the illimitable wilds of Tartary and Russia. But my liberty regained, and a few days' rest among the beautiful daughters of Israel in Poland, re-established it, and I am now in as full bloom and vigor as thirty-seven years will afford any man. Jarvis says I look much older than when he saw me three summers ago at Paris, which I can readily believe. An American face does not wear well, like an American heart."

It is difficult to assign a plausible reason for this extraordinary change in the policy and purpose of Catherine II. The most probable explanation is

the fact that, upon further reflection, she felt an unwillingness to permit the new possessions of Russia on the western coast of America to be subjected to the scrutiny of an inquisitive American, who would afterward report his observations in the United States; which country she detested as the hotbed of jacobinism and red-republicanism. Thus again were all Ledyard's hopes blasted, and the infinite toils which he had endured in journeying four thousand miles by land eastward, rendered futile and useless. He made his way sadly from Poland to England, still incommoded by poverty, still harassed by disappointment, yet still hopeful and intrepid as to the future.

In London, Ledyard's best friend was Sir Joseph Banks. This munificent person supplied his most pressing necessities, and cheered him with encouraging representations of the possibility of other plans and enterprises which would prove more successful and more remunerative. At that time the "African Association," located in the British metropolis, entertained the project of sending out some one to explore the interior countries of Africa, and to ascertain the direction and the sources of the river Niger. Sir Joseph Banks proposed to Ledyard that he himself should embark in this enterprise. Nothing could have been more acceptable



to this homeless yet daring adventurer than this proposition. He immediately signified his readiness to undertake the mission. Thus, at length, after infinite toils and sufferings in remote and inhospitable lands, which he had traversed in poverty and alone, without the necessary funds, equipments, or protection, he was selected by an opulent and influential organization to carry out their favorite views, and was furnished with every thing which would be requisite for his wants, for his security, and for his success. His strong ambition, too, which had so long been harassed by repeated disappointments and failures, was now flattered with the prospect of future eminence and distinction.

## CHAPTER V.

### LEDYARD'S EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

ON the 30th of June, 1788, Ledyard bade adieu to the British metropolis, and commenced his journey toward the distant land of the Nile. He visited his former friend Mr. Jefferson, when passing through Paris; who received him with great cordiality, and encouraged him with cheering prospects and anticipations of future prosperity. From Paris Ledyard proceeded to Marseilles, at which port he embarked for Alexandria. He thus describes, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, his first experiences of Eastern travel:

“As I shall go to Cairo in a few days, from whence it may be difficult for me to write to you, I do it here, though unprepared. I am in good health and spirits, and the prospects before me are flattering. This intelligence, with my wishes for your happiness and an eternal remembrance of your goodness to me, must form the only part of my letter of any consequence,—except that I desire to be remembered to the Marquis de la Fayette, his lady,

Mr. Short, and other friends. Deducting the week I stayed at Paris, and two days at Marseilles, I was only thirty-four days from London to this place.

“I am sorry to inform you that I regret having visited the gentleman you mentioned, and of having made use of your name. I shall ever think, though he was extremely polite, that he rather strove to prevent my embarking at Marseilles than to facilitate it; for, by bandying me about among the members of the Chamber of Commerce, he had nearly, and very nearly, lost me my passage; and in the last ship from Marseilles for the season. He knew better: he knew that the Chamber of Commerce had no business with me; and, besides, I only asked him if he could without trouble address me to the captain of a ship bound to Alexandria: nothing more.

“Alexandria at large presents a scene more wretched than I have witnessed. Poverty, rapine, murder, tumult, blind bigotry, cruel persecution, pestilence! A small town built on the ruins of antiquity, as remarkable for its miserable architecture as I suppose the place once was for its good and great works of that kind. Pompey’s Pillar and Cleopatra’s Obelisk are now almost the only remains of remote antiquity. They are both, and particularly the former, noble objects to contemplate, and

are certainly more captivating from the contrast of the deserts and forlorn prospects around them. No man of whatever turn of mind can see the whole, without retiring from the scene with a *Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

Having passed ten days only at Alexandria, he pursued his journey up the Nile to Cairo, where he arrived on the 19th of August. Here again he wrote to Mr. Jefferson :

"I sent you a short letter from Alexandria. I begin this without knowing where I shall close it, or when I shall send it, or, indeed, whether I shall ever send it. But I will have it ready in case an opportunity shall offer. Having been in Cairo only four days, I have not seen much of particular interest for you ; and, indeed, you will not expect much of this kind from me. My business is in another quarter, and the information I seek totally new. Any thing from this place would not be so.

"At all events, I shall never want a subject when it is to you I write. I shall never think my letter an indifferent one, when it contains the declaration of my gratitude and my affection for you ; and this, notwithstanding you thought hard of me for being employed by an English association, which hurt me much while I was at Paris. You know your own heart ; and, if my suspicions are groundless, forgive



them, since they proceed from the jealousy I have not to lose the regard you have in times past been pleased to honor me with. You are not obliged to esteem me; but I am obliged to esteem you, or to take leave of my senses and confront the opinions of the greatest and best characters I know. If I cannot, therefore, address myself to you as a man you regard, I must do it as one that regards you for your own sake, and for the sake of my country, which has set me the example.

“I made my tour from Alexandria by water, and entered the Nile by the western branch of the mouth of the river. I was five days coming from Cairo; but this passage is generally made in four, and sometimes in three days. You have heard and read much of the Nile, and so had I; but when I saw it I could not conceive it to be the same. What eyes do travellers see with? Are they fools or rogues? For heaven’s sake, hear the plain truth about it. First, in regard to its size. Obvious comparisons in such cases are good. Do you know the river Connecticut? Of all the rivers I have seen, it most resembles that in size. It is a little wider, and may on that account better compare with the Thames. This is the mighty, the sovereign of rivers, the vast Nile, that has been metamorphosed into one of the wonders of the world. Let

me be careful how I read, and, above all, how I read ancient history. You have heard, and read, too, much of its inundations. If the thousands of large and small canals from it, and the thousands of men and machines employed to transfer by artificial means the water of the Nile to the meadows on its banks,—if this be the inundation that is meant, it is true: any other is false. It is not an inundating river. I came up the river from the 15th to the 20th of August, and about the 30th the water will be at the height of the freshet. When I left the river, its banks were four, five, and six feet above the water; and here in town I am told they expect the Nile to be only one or two feet higher at the most. This is a proof, if any were wanted, that the river does not overflow its banks.

“I saw the Pyramids as I passed up the river, but they were four or five leagues off. It is warm weather here at present; and, were it not for the north winds, that cool themselves in their passage over the Mediterranean and blow upon us, we should be in a sad situation. As it is, I think I have felt it hotter at Philadelphia in the same month. The city of Cairo is about half as large in size as Paris, and is said to contain seven hundred thousand inhabitants. You will therefore anticipate the fact of its narrow streets and high houses. In this number are con-

tained one hundred thousand Copts, or descendants of the ancient Egyptians. There are likewise Christians, and those of different sects, from Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and other parts of Syria.

“With regard to my journey, I can only tell you with any certainty that I shall be able to pass as far as the western boundaries of what is called Turkish Nubia, to the town of Sennaar. I expect to get there with some surety. Beyond that all is dark before me. My wishes and designs are to pass in that parallel across the continent. I will write from Sennaar if I can.

“You know the disturbances in this unhappy country, and the nature of them. The beys, revolted from the bashaw, have possession of Upper Egypt, and are now encamped with an army—pitiful enough, indeed—about three miles south of Cairo. They say to the bashaw, ‘Come out of your city and fight us;’ and the bashaw says, ‘Come out of your intrenchments and fight me.’ You know this revolt is a stroke in Russian politics. Nothing merits more the whole force of burlesque than both the poetic and prosaic legends of this country. Sweet are the songs of Egypt on paper. Who is not ravished with gums, balms, dates, figs, pomegranates, cassia, and sycamores, without recollecting that amidst these are dust, hot and fainting

winds, bugs, mosquitos, spiders, flies, leprosy, fevers, and almost universal blindness? I am in perfect health. Adieu for the present, and believe me to be, with all possible esteem and regard, your sincere friend."

From Alexandria Ledyard proceeded to Cairo. Here he made those preparations for his journey into the interior which were still requisite. His purpose was to join some caravan which travelled southward and continue with it to the end of its route; after which he determined to shape his course according to circumstances. He employed three months at Cairo in various preliminary labors. His journal describes with great interest his progress from Alexandria to the gorgeous capital of Egypt, as well as his plans and arrangements for the future completion of his enterprise.

But the malignant and hostile fate which had attended this remarkable man throughout his whole life, did not desert him even in the hour of his brightest hope. The shaft of death prostrated him just on the eve of his triumph. During his residence at Cairo he was much exposed to the heat of the sun, at a very unfavorable period of the year. This exposure brought on an attack of bilious colic. Ledyard rashly attempted to cure himself by administering the ordinary remedy of vitriolic



acid. The quantity taken proved to be too great, and he endeavored to relieve himself by a powerful dose of tartar emetic. This unfortunate combination of pernicious influences, after a few hours of acute suffering, produced his death; though he was finally attended by the best medical aid in Cairo. He expired on the 26th of November, 1788, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Thus prematurely terminated the life and the vicissitudes of one of the most extraordinary travellers of modern times. It is highly probable that, had Ledyard lived to execute his bold and comprehensive plans in reference to the exploration of Central Africa, he would have attained results and achieved a fame which would far exceed those of any other adventurer in that clime; for he was undoubtedly the most determined, the most intrepid, and the most sagacious of all the men who have ever attempted to fathom the great geographical and historical mysteries which yet overhang, with such profound and impressive effect, those vast and diversified realms; where the gorgeous ruins of Meroë and Luxor, the still existing commerce of Sennaar, Nubia, and Abyssinia in spices, gold, and aromatic gums, the glorious temples of Thebes, the colossal tombs of Sesostris and Rameses, the

musical statue of Memnon, and the sculptured obelisks of Karnak, all proclaim the still unequalled splendors of that mysterious land, which to this day invite the scrutiny and reward the toil of the resolute explorer.

## PART IV.

### CHARLES WILKES.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### PURPOSES OF THE UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

THE United States Exploring Expedition, which sailed under the orders of Captain Charles Wilkes during the years 1838, '39, '40, '41, '42, was the first in the order of time which had ever been organized under the auspices of the United States Government, or fitted out by national munificence. On the 18th of May, 1836, Congress passed an act authorizing an expedition to be prepared and sent forth for the purpose of exploring and surveying the great Southern ocean, with special reference to such investigations as would promote the interest of American citizens who were engaged in the commerce connected with whale-fisheries. The commander of the expedition was instructed to ascertain and fix the position of those islands and shoals which lie

in or near the usual course of American vessels, which had escaped the scrutiny of former navigators. Six ships of various sizes were placed under his orders,—the sloops-of-war Vincennes and Peacock, the ship Relief, the brig Porpoise, and the tenders Sea-Gull and Flying-Fish. The route designated for Captain Wilkes was as follows: starting from Norfolk, he was directed first to sail to Rio de Janeiro, thence to Rio Negro, to Terra del Fuego, to the Navigators' Group and Feejee Islands. Having penetrated the Antarctic region, he was ordered to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, and thence to the northwest coast of America and California. After making various investigations there, he was to sail westward to Japan, thence to the Straits of Sunda and Singapore, and return to the United States by the Cape of Good Hope. This extensive outline of research and exploration was wisely selected with reference to the most pressing wants of American commerce; and the important, diversified, and difficult aims prescribed to the commander in his instructions by the United States Government, were pursued by him, during the five years employed in the service, with unsurpassed ability, with unwearying perseverance, and with brilliant success.

Captain Wilkes received his sailing-instructions on the 17th of August, 1838, with orders to put to



sea immediately. Accordingly, the next day the squadron under his command sailed from the port of Norfolk, and on the 19th he passed Cape Henry light. The vessels were well provisioned and well armed in every respect; the officers of the several vessels had been selected with care, with special reference to their fitness for their respective duties; and every preparation had been made to secure success. On the 16th of September the squadron reached the island of Madeira. Having disembarked with a portion of his officers and his corps of scientific men, Captain Wilkes explored the interior of the island and the more important harbors. The greatest natural curiosity here is a peculiar formation termed the Curral, a spot full of beauty and grandeur, which seems to have been in former ages the capacious crater of an active volcano.

On the 25th of September, 1838, the squadron sailed from Madeira and directed their course southward, with the intention of passing over those localities where shoals were supposed to exist which had not yet been sounded. They touched at the Cape de Verd Islands. On the 23d of November they came in sight of the magnificent harbor of Rio de Janeiro, which appeared proudly in the distance. They soon touched the pier in the famous capital of Brazil. Their chief object here was to replenish

their provisions and various other necessary stores; but, this duty being completed, Captain Wilkes employed the opportunity to examine the city and a portion of the interior.

On the 6th of January, 1839, the squadron weighed anchor in the port of Rio de Janeiro and sailed southward. On the 18th of the month they passed through the discolored water which flows into the ocean from the Rio la Platte, seventy-eight miles distant from its mouth. On the 25th they neared the coast of Buenos Ayres, and passing on, reached Terra del Fuego on the 13th of February. This strange and barbarous land, inhabited by the most abject and miserable of human beings, was nevertheless so situated as to be of great importance to the purposes of the expedition. The squadron was therefore here divided, and a portion sent to explore westward as far as the *ne plus ultra* of Captain Cook. Another portion was despatched southward to examine the southeast side of Palmer's Island. A third portion was detailed to the Straits of Magellan. The Vincennes, the flag-ship of the commander, remained on the coast of Terra del Fuego. Captain Wilkes thus describes the inhabitants: "They are not more than five feet high, of a light coffee-color, which is much concealed by smut and dirt, particularly on their faces, which they mark vertically with

charcoal. They have short faces, narrow foreheads, and high cheek-bones. Their eyes are small and usually black, the upper eyelids in the inner corner overlapping the under one, and bear a strong resemblance to those of the Chinese. Their nose is broad and flat, with wide-spread nostrils, mouth large, teeth white, large, and regular. The hair is long, lank, and black, hanging over the face, and is covered with white ashes, which gives them a hideous appearance. The whole face is compressed. Their bodies are remarkable from the great development of the chest, shoulders, and vertebral column; their arms are long, and out of proportion, their legs small and ill made. There is, in fact, little difference between the size of the ankle and leg; and, when standing, the skin at the knee hangs in a large, loose fold. In some the muscles of the leg appear almost wanting, and possess very little strength. This want of development in the muscles of the legs is owing to their constant sitting posture, both in their huts and canoes. Their skin is sensibly colder than ours. It is impossible to fancy any thing in human nature more filthy. They are an ill-shapen and ugly race."

## CHAPTER II.

### EXPLORATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN AND CHILI.

By the 25th of February, 1839, Captain Wilkes had completed his arrangements for the Southern cruise; and, all the members of the squadron being again assembled, after the execution of the several explorations to which they had been recently despatched, the signal was given to the ships to get under way. At this point Captain Wilkes ascertained, by careful experiment, that the rapidity of the waves around Cape Horn, in tranquil weather, was twenty-six and a half miles per hour; and that the greatest height of the waves was thirty-two feet. Such prodigious velocity and bulk of the billows will readily suggest the appalling horrors which would sweep over the deep in that stormy clime, when lashed by the fierce fury of a tempest.

On the 2d of March they approached the first frozen islands of the Southern ocean. The water was covered with fragments of ice of every possible shape. The squadron sailed safely through this immense expanse of waters in various directions.



Having completed the objects of the expedition in this portion of the globe, Captain Wilkes steered northward toward the coast of Chili. Of this portion of his labors he thus speaks :

“Before leaving these desolate and stormy regions, it may be expected that I should say a few words relative to the passage round the Cape. There are so many opinions relative to the best manner of proceeding in this navigation, that one in consulting them derives but little satisfaction, no two authorities agreeing in their views upon the subject. I am inclined to believe that as much depends upon the vessel and the manner in which she is navigated, as the route pursued, whether the Cape is passed close to, or given a good berth : the object of all is to pass it as quickly as possible, and, taking into consideration the difficulties to be incurred from boisterous weather, heavy seas, and ice, it is impossible to lay down any precise rule : that course which appears most feasible at the time ought to be adopted, keeping, however, in view, that there is no danger to be apprehended in navigating on the western coast of Terra del Fuego, as the current sets along its coast, and it is perfectly safe and practicable to navigate it as far as Cape Pillar. The great difficulty exists in passing the pitch of the Cape ; there is none afterward in getting to the westward.

On the coast, the wind seldom blows long from the same quarter, but veers from southwest to northwest: the gales generally begin at the former quarter and end at the latter. Previous to the southwest gales, it would, therefore, in all cases, be advisable, when indications of their occurrence are visible, (which are known by the banks of cumuli in that quarter some twenty-four hours previously,) to stand to the southward and westward in preference, with as much sail as well can be carried, that when the change occurs you may be ready to stand on the other tack to the northward. One thing every navigator ought to bear in mind: that it requires all the activity and perseverance he may be possessed of, to accomplish it quickly.

"On the 20th we took our final leave of these waters, and on the 21st lost sight of land, passing to the northward of the island of Diego Ramieres."

The squadron having entered the port of Valparaiso, its officers explored the interior of the country, and continued their scientific researches. At the same time they scrutinized the social habits and peculiarities of the people. Captain Wilkes thus describes some of the latter: "The Chilians are extremely fond of the dance called the Samacueca. This may be called the national dance, and is in vogue among the common people. It is usually

performed at the chingano, which is a kind of amphitheatre, surrounded by apartments where refreshments, including strong drinks, are sold, and is generally well filled by both sexes. The dance is performed on a kind of stage under an open shed. The music is a mixture of Spanish and Indian, and is performed altogether by females, on an old-fashioned, long and narrow harp, one end of which rests on the lap of the performer, and the other on the stage, ten feet off. A second girl is seen merrily beating time on the sounding-board of the instrument. On the right is another, strumming the common chords on a wire-string guitar or kitty, making, at every vibration of the right hand, a full sweep across all the strings, and varying the chords. In addition to this, they sang a national love-song, in Spanish, at the top of their voices, one singing a kind of alto, the whole producing a very strange combination of sounds.

“The dance is performed by a young man and woman: the former is gaudily decked in a light scarlet jacket, embroidered with gold lace, white pantaloons, red sash and pumps, with a tiny red cap; whilst that of his partner consists of a gaudy painted muslin dress, quite short and stiffly starched, not a little aided by an ample pair of hips; thrown over all is a rich-colored French shawl; these, with

well-fitted silk stockings, complete her attire. These last are, in truth, characteristic of the Chilian women of all classes, and they take no pains to conceal them. One not unfrequently sees the extravagance of silk stockings in the washerwomen at their tubs, and even with their hands in the suds. The dress in general fits tightly, and nature is not distorted by tight lacing or the wearing of corsets. Nothing is worn on the head; and the hair, parted and equally divided from the forehead back to the neck, hangs down in two long plaits on each shoulder to the waist.

“The style of dancing is somewhat like a fandango. The couple begin by facing each other and flirting handkerchiefs over each other’s heads, then approaching, slowly retreating again, then quickly shooting off to one side, passing under arms without touching, with great agility, rattling and beating time with castanets. Their movements are quite graceful, those of their feet pretty, and withal quite amorous: the gestures may be readily understood, not only by the native audience, but by foreigners. I cannot say much for its moral tendency.

“The higher classes of females have the name of being virtuous and estimable in their domestic circle; but we cannot say that they are beautiful. They dress their hair with great care and taste.



Their feet are small, and they have a graceful carriage."

In exploring the interior of Chili, the celebrated chain of mountains known as the Cordilleras would, of course, attract special attention. The botanical and mineralogical results of their researches were particularly valuable. The soil of the middle region between the ocean and the mountains was found to be a mixture of loose earth and pieces of rock.

Captain Wilkes's researches extended also to the political history and condition of Chili; and they brought to light many interesting facts connected with these subjects which before had been generally unknown nor unfamiliar.

## CHAPTER III.

### EXPLORATIONS IN PERU AND PAUMOTU GROUP.

HAVING completed his labors in the interior and on the coast of Chili, Captain Wilkes sailed, on the 26th of May, for Callao, in Peru. The description which he gives of Lima, the capital of that country, once so rich and splendid, and connected with such brilliant historical associations, is interesting in the extreme:

“The neglected walls and ruined tenements, the want of stir and life among the people, are sad evidences of decay. The population is now said to be about forty-five thousand, although in former times it has been supposed to amount to as many as sixty-five or seventy thousand.

“The aspect of the city, especially a bird’s-eye view from the neighboring hills, gives to the eye of the stranger the appearance of ruins. There are few buildings that have the look of durability, and no new ones have been put up for the last forty years. The plan of the city combines more advantages than any other that could have been adopted

for the locality. The streets are at right angles, and all sufficiently broad. Those which run with the declivity of the ground, northwest and southeast, have water flowing through their middle. They have not, however, a very clean appearance; but this is certainly not to be imputed to the want of the facility of being made so. The uses to which these streams are put, and the numerous buzzards that frequent them, give the stranger any other idea than that of cleanliness. The buzzards are protected by law, and may be seen fighting for their food in the gutters, regardless of passers; or sitting on the tops of the houses, thirty or forty in a row, watching for more food.

“Great attention has been paid to laying out the Alameda, which is on the north side of the city. Its centre is ornamented with a number of fountains; its walks are well shaded on each side with trees, and the running water adds to its freshness: all unite to form a delightful promenade. In the cool of the evening it is much frequented, and its stone seats are occupied by numbers of citizens. This is the best place to get a view of the inhabitants; and, notwithstanding their internal commotions, they appear fully to enjoy their cigaritas, which they are constantly smoking. The peculiar dress of the ladies is here seen to the best advan-

tage, and, however fitted it may be to cover intrigue, is not, certainly, adapted to the display of beauty. A more awkward and absurd dress cannot well be conceived. It is by no means indicative of the wearer's rank, for frequently this disguise is ragged and tattered, and assumed under its most forbidding aspect to deceive, or carry on an intrigue, of which it is almost an effectual cloak.

"I never could behold these dresses without considering them as an emblem of the wretched condition of domestic society in this far-famed city.

"The saya and manto were originally intended as a retiring, modest dress, to mark reserve, to insure seclusion, and to enable ladies to go abroad without an escort. The general term for the wearers is *tapada*; and they were always held sacred from insult. *Tapada* is likewise applied to a dress which is also frequently seen, viz.: a shawl worn over the head, so as to cover the nose, mouth, and forehead. None but the most intimate friend can know the wearers, who frequent the theatres in this disguise. It is to be regretted that it is now worn for very different purposes from its original intention. Intrigues of all kinds are said to be carried on under it. It enables the wearer to mix in all societies, and to frequent any place of amusement, without being known; and, even if suspected by her husband



or relatives, the law of custom would protect her from discovery. In this dress, it is said, a wife will pass her own husband when she may be walking with her lover, and the husband may make love to his wife without being aware it is she.

“The saya is a silk petticoat with numerous small vertical plaits, containing about thirty yards of silk, and costing fifty or sixty dollars. It is drawn in close at the bottom of the dress, so that the wearer is obliged to make very short steps, (ten inches.) It is a little elastic, and conforms to the shape, whether natural or artificial, from the waist down. The manto is a kind of cloak of black silk. It is fastened to the saya at the waist, and brought over the head and shoulders from behind, concealing every thing but one eye and one hand, in which is usually seen a cross or whose fingers are well ornamented with jewels. Before the manto is arranged, a French shawl of bright colors is thrown over the shoulders, and brought between the openings of the manto in front, hanging down nearly to the feet. The loose saya is also much worn: this is not contracted at the bottom, and in walking has a great swing from side to side.

“The walk of the Lima ladies is graceful and pretty, and they usually have small feet and hands.

“The houses are built of sun-burnt brick, cane,

and small timber. All those of the better class have small balconies to the second story. Most of the houses are of two stories, and they generally have an archway from the street, secured by a strong portal, leading into an open court. The lower or ground floor is used as storehouses, stables, &c. This peculiar manner of building is intended as a security against the effects of earthquakes."

On the 13th of July, 1839, the squadron sailed from the port of Callao on the further prosecution of the cruise, and steered for the Paumotu group of islands, the examination of which was of special importance for the purposes of the expedition. On the 14th of August, they reached Minerva Island, belonging to that group. They proceeded to make a regular survey of it. But few inhabitants were found upon it, and these spoke the Tahitian dialect. They seemed to be a fine, athletic race, and above the ordinary size. They did not exceed several hundred in number. In the progress of time all the islands belonging to this group were thoroughly surveyed.

"The chief was an old man, and was induced to venture off toward the boat. One of the gentlemen swam to those on shore: his reception was similar to that met with at the other islands,—rubbing noses, kissing, and shaking of hands. Whenever he attempted to lay his hands on them they started back,

but were continually pawing and whining over him, making a kind of purring noise, not unlike that by which we propitiate or soothe the feelings or doubtful temper of some beast. They presented them with mats made of the pandanus-leaf, and also pieces of worn-out tapa, in return for many articles received, but would not suffer our people to put their feet upon dry ground, and, when it was attempted, kept shoving them gently into the water.

“The naturalists in the afternoon endeavored to effect a landing at another place, out of sight of the natives, and succeeded. Mr. Brackenridge, on landing the second time, ran to the thicket, in order to lose no time in making collections, and was employed in gathering specimens, when two stout natives came running up and made him understand by very intelligible signs that he must return to the boat: he pretended not to understand them, and endeavored to proceed; but they went before him, and crossed their clubs, determined that he should go no farther. This caused him to laugh, in which the two natives joined. Finding there was no alternative, he took an oblique direction toward the boat, hoping by this means to enlarge his collection, which he succeeded in doing, while the natives, as he describes it, shouldered him out of the bush and then toward the boat. The rest of the party, having gone

up to the huts, were at once seized and shoved down toward the boat and into the surf, where they presented rather a ludicrous appearance, with the danger of drowning on the one side, and the natives on the other, who had them completely in their power, as they had neither arms nor any other means of defence. No harm, however, was done them, but the alarm incident to being threatened with spears. The only mishap met with was the loss, by one of the gentlemen, of a pair of spectacles, and a bruise or two from the coral, in their hurried retreat. As the surf was heavy, life-preservers were sent to those who could not swim; and, after much detention, they reached the boat in safety. Had such a circumstance occurred at Clermont de Tonnerre, I am satisfied that most serious consequences would have resulted to us."

On the 1st of September the squadron reached Vincennes Island, belonging to the Paumotu group. Thence they proceeded to Carlshoff Island, twenty miles farther to the westward. A careful survey of both was made. Next came the island of Ahii. "This island is not inhabited, and has only a small boat-entrance into its lagoon on the west side. The coral belt is similar to that last described; it was found to be upwards of half a mile in width, and was covered with the same kind of vegetation as



the last, excepting cocoanut-trees, of which none were found on the island. The lagoon is quite shallow. A favorite fish with the natives is found in it, and at certain seasons they visit the island for the purpose of catching them. The coral shelf varied from two to five hundred feet in breadth.

“Being desirous of making the examination of as many of the coral islands as possible, I now despatched the Peacock to the Arutua or Rurick Islands, with directions to examine them, and then to proceed along the south side of Dean’s Island, whilst, in the Vincennes, I steered for the north side of the latter, to pass along it. We then parted company, and Dean’s Island was made by us the next morning. After establishing our position, we ran along the northern shore, and reached its western point at 4 P.M. Off this point we obtained sights for our chronometers, which put it in longitude  $147^{\circ} 58' 34''$  W., latitude  $15^{\circ} 05' 15''$  S. During the day we passed an entrance into its lagoon, and some natives came off from a small village in two canoes to visit us. They acknowledged themselves subjects of Queen Pomare of Tahiti, and were very desirous we should land. They brought off a few shells, and told us they had many fowls, pigs, taro, &c. There are several islets in the lagoon covered with trees. Vast numbers of large blocks were seen

lying on its reef. The shore-reef is not more than two hundred feet wide, and is composed of only one shelf. The current was tried, but none was found. We had the wind very fresh from east-by-north all day. When off the western point we discovered Krusenstern's Island to the west, and hauled up to pass between it and Nairsa. The passage was found to be twelve and two-thirds miles wide, and free from all danger. In the evening I stood for Metia Island, to the southward. Nairsa or Dean's Island was found to be sixty-six miles in length.

“On the morning of the 9th of September we were in sight of Metia or Aurora Island, the north end of which is in latitude  $15^{\circ} 49' 35''$  S., longitude  $148^{\circ} 13' 15''$  W. It was totally different in appearance from those we had met with, though evidently of the same formation. It was a coral island uplifted, exposing its formation distinctly, and as such was very interesting. On approaching its eastern end, I sounded at about one hundred and fifty feet from its perpendicular cliff, and found no bottom with one hundred and fifty fathoms of line. The cliff appeared worn into caverns. We landed close in its neighborhood, and, on measuring its height, it proved to be two hundred and fifty feet. The coral shelf was found to be five hundred feet in width, extending on the north side of the island,

and gradually diminishing in width until it loses itself at the western end. This island has all the features that one would naturally be led to expect from a low island uplifted. The north, east, and west sides present a perpendicular cliff or wall; but this character does not prevail on the south side, although it has some high knolls. The north ridge is nearly level, and there is a break through it (by which we ascended to its top) very much like the opening of a lagoon. The north side is concave, and there is found within the indentations between its two points an extensive inclined plane composed of large masses of limestone and vegetable mould, on which the village is situated, in a luxuriant grove of bread-fruit, cocoanut, pandanas, and other trees, similar to those already spoken of as seen on the other islands. There were several copious springs; but the natives informed me that there were no running streams on the island.

“The natives all seemed delighted to see us, crowding around my boat and assisting to haul it up: men, women, and children flocked around us; all the population were gathered, to the number of about three hundred and fifty. We were at once invited to the chief’s and native missionary’s house, situated in the centre of the village. The house was constructed of the bread-fruit wood for a frame,

and reeds of the wild sugarcane for the uprights, with interstices for the passage of the air, and lining of mats to exclude it when required. It was well thatched, and the whole had a cool and comfortable appearance. Cocoanuts were soon brought us, and all our questions were answered with an alacrity and pleasure that showed their strong desire to oblige and assist us."



## CHAPTER IV.

### RESEARCHES AT TAHITI, AND DISCOVERY OF THE ANT- ARCTIC CONTINENT.

ON the 12th of September, the expedition reached the island of Tahiti. The ships were soon surrounded with a multitude of canoes filled with all the products of the island, including poultry, pigs, taro, bananas, yams, cocoanuts, apples, and oranges. Many women also occupied the canoes, whose appearance was attractive, but whose morals were loose in the extreme. The presence of Christian missionaries at Tahiti has accomplished but little toward resisting the demoralizing effect of Christian commerce; and the utmost licentiousness prevails among the women of the island. Captain Wilkes established an observatory at Point Venus, for the purpose of making scientific observations. Pomare, the sovereign of the group, visited the squadron during its sojourn near his dominions. Captain Wilkes held some interviews with him and the

leading chiefs, and succeeded in establishing a commercial treaty with them, which was calculated to prove highly advantageous to both nations.

Leaving Tahiti on the 10th of October, the squadron still steered westward. On the 27th of November they touched the coast of New Holland, or New South Wales. As no duties of importance devolved upon the officers of the squadron here, except to obtain a fresh supply of provisions, they sailed from the port of Sidney on the 26th of December, for the purpose of entering on their Antarctic cruise. Soon they encountered the drifting ice, and passed several icebergs which were a mile in circumference. On the 19th of January, 1840, the most important achievement of the expedition was accomplished, in the discovery of a *new continent*, situated about two thousand miles south of Australia; which the heroic commander explored for a distance of seventeen hundred miles from east to west, comprising the most extensive land yet known in that quarter of the globe. It is a remarkable circumstance that, on the very same day, a portion of the same coast was seen by Commodore D'Urville, commanding the French Exploring Expedition, composed of the corvettes *Astrolabe* and *Zelee*. That vast and still-unexplored region is termed the Antarctic Continent; and it seems chiefly to be one immense mass

of frozen earth, whose extreme limits very probably repose upon the Southern Pole.

On the 25th of January, Captain Wilkes landed on the solid ice of the continent, and took some magnetic observations. He still steered southward. Sometimes the coast seemed to rise several thousand feet in height. Ledges of volcanic rock were distinctly seen. The cold now became intense, and the navigation extremely difficult and dangerous. On the 12th of February a range of mountains was discovered in the distance, covered with snow. The barriers of ice which hugged the land rendered it impossible to reach the shore. Captain Wilkes continued to sail along this unknown and frozen continent, without being able to land, until the 21st of February; when the severity of the weather, the increasing sickness of the crews from exposure, and the apparent fruitlessness of a farther advance, induced him to give the order to return. The squadron re-entered the port of Sidney on the 11th of March ensuing.

After a short delay, the voyage was continued to New Zealand, which was in part explored and surveyed; after which, on the 6th of May, one of the southern islands of the Feejee group was first discovered. These islands are inhabited by some of the most savage and degraded specimens of the

human race. Their color is nearly black; and they are entirely naked, with the exception of a band around their loins and head. They possess no wealth, and to them a whale's tooth is the most inestimable of treasures.

Captain Wilkes and his officers explored the interior of the island of Ovolau. They succeeded in reaching the summit of Andulong, the highest mountain in the group; and they made many interesting discoveries in the botany and mineralogy of the country. The name of the king was Janoa, whose power was absolute and despotic. On one occasion the royal savage visited the flag-ship together with several of his chiefs. He was at first offended because he was not received with a salute; but his anger was afterward propitiated.

In the progress of several weeks, all the largest islands of the Feejee group were visited and surveyed. The officers were unmolested by the natives until on the 24th of July, when Lieutenant Underwood and Midshipman Henry were murdered in cold blood on the island Malolo-leon.

Captain Wilkes determined to punish the savages with the utmost severity. By his orders eighty men landed on the island, who attacked the fortified village. This was soon set on fire and burned. A large number were slain, and the remainder of the



inhabitants fled into the interior. The next day a deputation of several old men was sent to crave the pardon of the offended foreigners by whom they had been so severely chastised. Their petition was granted on condition that they would supply the squadron with provisions and water, which they willingly agreed to do.

Having sailed from these dark abodes of human ferocity and abasement, Captain Wilkes continued his cruise and reached the Sandwich Islands on the 30th of September. These are inhabited by a much nobler race, possessing graceful and athletic forms, and minds of superior intelligence. The well-known capital is Honolulu. The peculiarities of this group are so familiar to every reader, that it is unnecessary to dwell on any details, except such as may be directly connected with the expedition. The interior and the shore of the island of Oahoo were explored and surveyed. Hawaii was subjected to a similar scrutiny. The great volcano of the Mount Kilauea was examined. The observations and adventures of the party at this spot are thus described :

“It is remarkable that this crater should present an external aspect so entirely dissimilar to that of Etna and Vesuvius, or any of the volcanoes of South America. Those are characterized by an elevated cone, out of which are ejected igneous rocks and

ashes. Kilauea, on the contrary, is an immense depression in the midst of a vast plain, with nothing to warn you of a near approach but the signs which I have before spoken of.

“We now directed our course toward the cluster of shanties erected on the brim of the crater by Captain Wilkes’s party, which we soon reached, and found one occupied by Dr. Pickering, who came round by the sea-shore. The remaining shanties were in the possession of about fifty natives, who had come from a town near the coast to take away a large canoe which they had made in the neighboring wood some time previous.

“After supper we proceeded in company with Dr. Pickering to a place about half a mile to the eastward of the shanties, to obtain a view of a small crater which was represented to be unusually active. We could not possibly have selected a more eligible position. We stood on a pile of rocks which commanded a bird’s-eye view of the fiery lake. It was several thousand feet in circumference, and nearly round in form. The color of its burning contents was that of a cherry-red or deep crimson, and it was in a state of terrific ebullition. Sometimes the fiery fluid was ejected many feet into the air; at other times it was seen to overflow the edges on the circumjacent lava for many yards distant. We

continued to gaze upon the scene about an hour, and then returned to our lodgings, where we soon had opportunity of observing another phenomenon of a character not less grand and splendid. We were reclining on our mats, with our eyes directed toward the largest of the lakes, when a portion of the bank forming one of its sides was seen to give way and fall into the liquid lava beneath with a frightful crash. The whole surface was in the most violent agitation; billows were formed as high apparently as any we had ever seen on the ocean, and dashed against the side of the crater with such violence as to throw the fiery spray sixty or seventy feet high. The sight of this spectacle alone would have repaid us for the trouble of coming thus far. When the surface of the fiery stream became quiescent again, we wrapped ourselves in our blankets and sought repose.

“When breakfast was over, we proceeded to visit the bottom of the crater. After a brief walk in the direction of the Sulphur Springs, we turned to the left, and suddenly commenced descending by a steep and rugged path: columns of vapors smelling strongly of sulphur were issuing from crevices and pits lining either side of the road. We estimated some of the latter to be upward of two hundred feet in depth. After a descent of about one-quarter

of a mile, we passed on our right a crater which bore unmistakable signs of having long since become extinct: it was everywhere covered with shrubbery and trees of considerable dimensions. Another walk of about fifteen minutes brought us to what is called the 'Ledge.' It was not until then that we formed an adequate idea of the magnitude and sublimity of this wonderful crater. On whichever side we cast our eyes, we beheld a wall of solid lava of a thousand feet or more in altitude, and from six to seven miles in circumference. This ledge surrounds the crater, thus forming a kind of natural gallery several hundred yards in width. The surface is but little broken, and presents a uniform appearance, being of a dark brown or iron color."



## CHAPTER V.

### TERMINATION OF THE EXPEDITION—CONTROVERSY WITH COLONEL FREMONT.

HAVING completed his surveying and exploring duties in the Sandwich Islands, Captain Wilkes sailed, on the 5th of April, for the northwestern coast of America. Passing the mouth of the Columbia River, he soon reached Port Discovery. The members of the expedition here first came in contact with the aboriginal tribes of North America, a far nobler, manlier, and bolder race than any whom they had heretofore encountered. The harbor was carefully surveyed. Thence they proceeded to Nisqually Sound and afterward to Grey's Harbor. From Astoria and Fort Vancouver the overland expedition to California, consisting of a portion of the expedition, commenced to explore the country as far as the Shasta Mountains; thence they returned to the squadron by a different route. They thus traversed the vast tracts of Oregon Territory and Upper California. On the 24th of October the overland party reached San Francisco: the squa-

dron had entered that port a short time previous. Throughout all this immense region, both of the interior and of the Pacific coast, the most careful and valuable surveys were made by the various members of the expedition to whom those several duties had been assigned.

Only one portion of this protracted and arduous expedition yet remained to be completed. On the 25th of October Captain Wilkes sailed from San Francisco to the East Indies. On the 19th of November the ships again touched at Honolulu, in order to replenish their provisions. On the 22d of January, 1842, they reached Singapore. On this island various surveys and treaties occupied the attention of the commander for some time. After the sojourn of a month the squadron again weighed anchor and steered for its final return to the United States. The expedition terminated on the 3d of July, 1842, when its ships re-entered the port of New York,—having been absent, in the prosecution of its diversified, important, and difficult duties, during the period of nearly five eventful years. Its success had been most complete; and the additions which were made by its able commander, and his efficient officers and assistants, to the existing stores of knowledge in various departments of science, will long remain a monument, more enduring than

one of brass, to their genius, their perseverance, and their heroism.

In the year 1848, Captain Wilkes became involved in a public controversy with Colonel Fremont, in reference to the accuracy of some of his explorations of the Gulf and coast of California. The origin of the dispute arose from the fact that a vessel had been wrecked upon that coast in consequence of an error in the charts then in use. Colonel Benton, of Missouri, having read an account of that calamity, addressed a letter to the editors of the *National Intelligencer* at Washington, asserting that Colonel Fremont had by his surveys already detected the error and would correct it in his map of Oregon and Upper California, then in course of preparation. This letter elicited a reply from Captain Wilkes, which led to a subsequent discussion between him and Colonel Fremont, which possesses a permanent value and interest, not only from the scientific information which it contains, but also from the fact of its connection with two of the most distinguished of American explorers. The nature of the controversy was clearly stated in Captain Wilkes's first letter, which was inserted in the *National Intelligencer* of June 8, 1848; with which we conclude the present essay.

“MESSRS. GALES & SEATON:—On my return to the

city after a few weeks' absence, your paper of the 15th of May, containing some remarks on the errors existing in the charts of the northwest coast of California, by Colonel Benton, was brought to my notice. Although I have no desire to detract from any one, yet I think it due to others, as well as to the United States Exploring Expedition, to place the following facts before the public respecting the errors which *did exist* in the longitude of this coast, the '*discovery*' of which is now claimed to have been first made, and the errors corrected, by Colonel Fremont, through a series of astronomical observations across the continent.

"Shortly after the publication of Vancouver's charts in 1798, errors were suspected to exist in them, (his points were determined by lunar observations and several chronometers, which latter performed but indifferently; and from these his results were obtained,) from a difference which was found between him and the Spanish surveying-vessels employed at the same time on the coast of California. The amount of error was not, however, truly ascertained until some years after this, when Captain Beechey, of H.B.M. ship the Blossom, visited this coast in 1826. His observations were confirmed by Captain Sir Edward Belcher, in H.B.M. surveying-ship the Sulphur, in 1835; and it was again con-



firmed by the United States Exploring Expedition in 1841.

“These corrections were all made on the general charts published by order of Congress in 1844, from the surveys and examinations of the Exploring Expedition, and have been in possession of our ships navigating the Pacific Ocean since that time.

“By comparing dates, it will be perceived that these ‘discoveries’ were known long since, and that the actual amount of error was ascertained some twenty years ago by both the English and French expeditions, and were published by our own Government, in the results of the Exploring Expedition, a year prior to the earliest date claimed by Colonel Benton as the time when the observations of Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont were made.

“With great respect, I am, yours,” &c.

## PART V.

### MATTHEW C. PERRY

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### ORIGIN AND AIMS OF THE EXPEDITION TO JAPAN.

THE acquisition of the rich and extensive territory of California, as already narrated, brought the extreme western domains of the United States into direct contact with those of the Japanese Empire; for the expanse of the Pacific Ocean, rendered insignificant by the power of steam, alone divided them. Both countries possessed interests of great importance, which would be mutually and permanently promoted by a treaty of commerce between them. Commodore Perry, who had previously become distinguished in the service of the United States, and had proved himself worthy to bear a name which was already illustrious in the annals of the naval achievements of the country, was among the first to perceive and to proclaim the immense importance of establishing an alliance between the

two countries. To him the high honor is due of having first proposed its accomplishment to the United States Government, as well as the greater praise of having finally effected a result and achieved a triumph which were in the highest degree difficult and problematical, and at the same time most beneficial and advantageous. The United States are among the richest portions of the globe in their natural products, in the results of mechanical skill, in arts, in sciences, in mineral wealth, in manufactures, and in every thing which invites and remunerates the commercial intercourse of nations. Japan is provided with an abundance of coal, rice, and many other natural and some mineral products; but the consideration of chief moment in view of which a treaty was desirable was, because American steamers in sailing to the remoter countries of Asia, found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to convey with them the necessary amount of fuel for so many thousands of miles; while the difficulty might be obviated by the establishment of an arrangement with the Japanese whereby American ships would be permitted, in opposition to the exclusive policy which that country has pursued toward foreigners for many ages, to obtain coal, provisions, and water at one of the most convenient ports of the Empire.

Great difficulties impeded the accomplishment of this desirable result. Many other nations had in vain solicited the alliance of the Japanese, and had attempted to secure an entrance into an empire which had been hermetically sealed to all foreigners, except to the Dutch alone, during many past centuries. Yet Commodore Perry not only undertook the task which so many had failed in accomplishing, but he crowned his bold and persevering efforts with the most complete success.

The intentions of the American Government in reference to this expedition were originally magnificent. Its design was to send out at least twelve war-steamers, under the command of Commodore Perry; thus laboring to secure success in a very doubtful enterprise by making an imposing demonstration of naval and military power. After the delay of nearly a year, a single vessel, the steamer *Mississippi*, was the only one which the Government was disposed to appropriate to this purpose, although other vessels were destined to follow, and some which were then cruising elsewhere were ordered to join the commander at the scene of his negotiations. Commodore Perry sailed from Norfolk on the 24th of November, 1852, and arrived at Madeira after a rapid voyage of seventeen days. On the 3d of January, the ship crossed the line;



and six days afterward she touched at St. Helena. From this celebrated island, made memorable by the singular misfortunes and the bitter curses of the most remarkable man of modern times, Commodore Perry proceeded on his voyage, and reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 24th of January, 1853. The vessel touched during its progress at Mauritius, Ceylon, and Singapore; all of which places lay on the great mail-route between India, China, Australia, and Europe.

On the 6th of April, Commodore Perry reached Macao. At Hong-Kong, on the succeeding day, he was joined by the United States sloops-of-war Plymouth and Saratoga, together with the store-ship Supply. The *Susquehanna*, a member of the intended squadron, had not yet made her appearance. Hong-Kong is one of the most active ports in the Chinese Empire; and here the busy votaries of commerce from almost every portion of the globe may be found, eagerly engaged in their respective trades. Commodore Perry visited Canton, a vast and crowded hive of human population and misery. Thence he proceeded, after a short delay, to Shanghai, another great commercial city of the Celestial Empire, whose commerce, especially with the interior provinces of China, is immense. Here the squadron was joined by the absent *Susquehanna*.

On the 26th of May, Commodore Perry reached the Lew-Chew Islands. They lay before him upon the bosom of the tranquil deep, like fruitful gardens surrounded by the placid waters of a lake, and adorned with all the rich luxuriance of a tropical clime. It was a portion of the instructions which had been given by Government to the commander of this expedition that he should establish a separate treaty of commerce with these islands, which were not only of considerable importance in themselves, but which also acquired a still greater consequence from their position on the great East India route. Here a solitary representative of civilization already existed, in the person of Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew, who had been sent out by a missionary society in England to convert the natives to Christianity; but who, after eight years of residence and endeavor had not secured a single proselyte.

A friendly intercourse was immediately established between the squadron and the harmless and hospitable inhabitants of the island. The name of the chief town is Napha; and this spot was the residence of a mysterious person, who was the heir-apparent to the throne, but whose authority during the period of his alleged minority was exercised by a regent. After various negotiations had taken place between subordinate agents on both sides, an

interview occurred on the 30th of May, 1853, between the regent in person and the commodore, on board his flag-ship, the *Susquehanna*. The former was attended by about twenty of the chief men of the island. The visitors were handsomely entertained, and then informed of the purpose of the commodore's visit. It was simply at that time to obtain supplies of fresh provisions. The truth was, that Commodore Perry had resolved to postpone until a later period the accomplishment of his chief purpose in reference to these islands,—the arrangement of a commercial treaty. The sailors were allowed on the next day to visit the shore; and some of the officers embraced the opportunity to explore the interior and more remote portions of the island. There they passed through scenes of the most inviting natural loveliness; they traversed hills, plains, and dales loaded with the most luscious and luxuriant fruits of the earth; they saw the simple and kindly inhabitants, shut out from all the sinister influences and the baser pursuits of civilized life, happily passing their existence in comfort, in innocence, in repose, and in the fruition of that propitious ignorance which is sometimes man's highest and purest bliss. One party from the ships spent a whole week, undisturbed, exploring the interior of the island.

The Lew-Chew Islands are thirty-six in number:

but the researches of the commodore's officers were confined to the Great Lew-Chew Island, on which the regent resided. This is forty miles in length, and nearly half of it was explored. Generally the inhabitants fled from the presence of the intruders as soon as they discovered their approach. On the 6th of June, the commodore returned the visit of state which he had received from the regent. He was accompanied by a gay retinue of tars and officers, two hundred in number, by two field-pieces, by martial music, and by other demonstrations of greatness. Hundreds of the simple natives crowded around the novel procession, and viewed it with mingled wonder and admiration. Beautiful gardens and rich rice-fields surrounded the road which led to the palace at Napha. These islanders are civilized, and possess the same degree of intelligence and cultivation as the Chinese and the Japanese. The occasion, therefore, was one of no mean importance.

The commodore, having arrived at the palace of the regent, was ushered into a hall of respectable proportions, which was soon filled by a throng of native officials arrayed in gay and flowing robes. Each of these was furnished with a fan, which the heat of the atmosphere called into constant use. A ceremonious exchange of compliments then ensued, which was followed by a friendly conversation.



Then came a feast, at which the visitors were entertained with the choicest viands which the island produced. The banquet consisted of twelve courses, during the progress of which much diverting converse and some complimentary toasts were indulged in. When the entertainment was finished, the commodore extended an invitation to his host to visit him on board his ship; and then returned to it. These civilities were of more importance than might at first sight appear, because they prepared the way for the arrangement of the amicable treaty which was subsequently consummated between the parties.

On the 9th of June, Commodore Perry sailed for the Bonin Islands. These are situated about five hundred miles southeast of Japan, and eight hundred from the Lew-Chew Islands. Captain Beechey took possession of them in 1827, in the name of the British monarch, although no further steps had ever been taken to confirm the title or establish the authority of England there. The object of Commodore Perry's visit was to ascertain the fitness of the islands as a naval depôt, and as a place of stoppage for whalers and steamers. Having obtained the necessary information and taken the preliminary steps to accomplish this purpose, Commodore Perry returned with his squadron again to the Lew-Chew Islands.

The negotiations which the commodore here resumed having for the present been concluded, he sailed on the 2d of July, 1853, for the chief object and terminus of the expedition,—the comparatively unknown and mysterious Empire of Japan. On the morning of the 7th inst., the first distant glimpse was gained of its precipitous coast; for then the bold promontory of Idzu hove in sight, rising loftily and abruptly from the waves, and stretching back in a long line of mountainous elevations to the eastward. The squadron now steered directly for the entrance of the Bay of Jeddo, Commodore Perry having resolved to approach the capital at once, and thus boldly to plough with his vessels those very waters which had never before been invaded by the presence of a foreigner. Here was to be accomplished the most difficult and most important purpose of the expedition; a purpose which no other nation had been able to effect in modern times with but one exception.

Jeddo, the seat of the ruling power and the real capital of Japan, lies at the head of a deep bay on the eastern coast of Nippon, and at the mouth of one of the few rivers of the Empire which possess any considerable magnitude. It is seven miles long and five broad, and contains many palaces of the great lords; all of whom must reside in it for a large part.

of the year. These mansions are surrounded by wide enclosed courts and extensive gardens; yet they cannot be said to possess much architectural grandeur, since they are only one story high: the walls are of clay, the partitions of paper, and are adorned merely with paintings, varnishing, and fine mats spread on the floor. The imperial palace however, though equally low, is built of freestone, and is five miles in circumference, including a wide exterior area occupied by the spacious mansions of the hereditary princes and chief lords of the court. Its grand apartment, the hall of the thousand mats, is said to be six hundred feet long by three hundred broad, and is brilliantly adorned by pillars of cedar, painted papers, and gilded dragons on the roof. The city is subject to destructive fires, one of which, in 1703, consumed one hundred thousand houses. It is the seat of varied branches of industry, and carries on also an immense internal trade.

Meaco is situated at a considerable distance from Jeddo, near the southern extremity of Nippon, and a few miles in the interior. This spiritual capital of Japan is still the chief seat of polished manners, of refined arts, and of intellectual culture. The finest silk stuffs flowered with gold and silver, the richest varnishes, the best painted papers, and the most skilful works in gold, silver, and copper, are here

manufactured. It is likewise the centre of literature and science, and most of the works which are published and read in Japan issue from its presses. Although there is here no longer the means of supporting the same display of pomp and wealth as at Jeddo, yet there is a greater exhibition of architectural ornament. The palace, or enclosed city, of the spiritual sovereign is on a similar plan; but the religious structures, though built of cedar, are some of them truly splendid, being richly gilded, and placed in the most picturesque and commanding situations. Kämpfer calculates that there are, in and around Meaco, not less than three thousand eight hundred and ninety-three temples, served by thirty-seven thousand and ninety-three suikku, or priests. Of these temples however, the greater part are only wooden huts, and have nothing within but a looking-glass and some cut white paper. The secular inhabitants of the city, according to the last enumeration, were 477,000, and the ecclesiastical, including the court, 52,000; making a sum-total of five hundred and twenty-nine thousand. Japan is divided into eight provinces and sixty-eight departments. These are governed by the hereditary princes of the Empire, though frequent changes are made according to the weight of merit and favor.



The hereditary nobility are higher in point of rank than the highest of the other government officials. The political capital, Jeddo, is said to contain five millions of inhabitants ; and if this computation be correct, it is the largest city in the world.

## CHAPTER II.

### PUBLIC INTERVIEW BETWEEN COMMODORE PERRY AND THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONERS.

As the American squadron rapidly sailed up the magnificent Bay of Jeddo, the imposing and novel sight created the utmost astonishment among the inhabitants, who crowded the shores on both sides. Soon the placid waters were covered with a host of Japanese boats, whose object evidently was to impede or arrest the progress of the strangers. A succession of populous towns and villages, surrounded by trees, were picturesquely grouped along the shores; and the bay was filled with innumerable trading-junks which were crossing and recrossing the tranquil waters in the pursuit of their usual trade. At length the commodore's ships, having boldly steamed their way to the spot which he had selected for his anchorage, through the immense shoals of petty native craft which vainly encumbered his path, moored safely off the city of Uraga. Immediately the batteries on the shore fired two guns, and rockets were sent into the heavens, for the purpose

apparently of signaling the authorities at the capital; whose extreme suburbs could be readily discovered by the use of a glass in the distance. An immense fleet of government boats, each carrying a white flag at the stern, adorned with a black central stripe, and with an immense tassel at the bow, began to surround the vessels. These boats cleaved the waters with great swiftness, being propelled by skilful oarsmen. One of them carried a government dignitary of high rank, whose purpose it was to inform the commander of the squadron that it was a violation of their laws, which was utterly unheard-of and unpardonable, for foreign vessels thus to approach the very capital of the Empire; and to demand that they should immediately retire as far as Nagasaki, in the island of Kiosu, which was the only place whence communications would be received.

The commodore replied that he could not comply with such demands; that he bore a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan, proposing the establishment of a commercial treaty between the two countries; that if the fleet of native boats did not immediately remove from the vicinity of the squadron, he would disperse them with his guns; and that, if further objection was made to his presence at Uraga, he would steam

up directly to the very gates of Jeddo. Commodore Perry had wisely determined at the very outset of his intercourse with the Japanese to assume the tone of an equal, or even of a superior, under the conviction that such a policy would be most conducive to success. The event proved the correctness of his supposition. On leaving the flag-ship the Japanese official informed the American commander, that an officer of higher rank would be deputed to wait upon him in reference to the proposals with which he was intrusted, took a courteous leave, and, as he descended the ship's side, ordered the fleets of boats to disperse. That order was instantly obeyed. The next day the Governor of Uraga proceeded to visit the squadron. He was richly dressed in figured silks, and wore two splendid swords, as *indicia* of his superior rank. After a long audience with the commodore he took his departure, promising to refer his mission to the imperial government at Jeddo, and inform him as soon as possible of the result of its deliberations.

Very tedious and provoking delays ensued. The Japanese officials, though frequently visiting the commodore on board his ship, interposed repeated and frivolous obstacles to the accomplishment of any definite result. At length his patience was exhausted, and the commodore informed Yezaimon,



the Governor of Uruga, that he would wait until the 12th of July for an opportunity to deliver the letter with which he was intrusted to an official appointed by the imperial government to receive it; and that, if no person had been designated by that time to receive it, he would carry the letter in person to the palace in Jeddo.

Such decisive language immediately produced its desired effect. Commodore Perry was soon informed that the 14th of July had been appointed for the purpose of a meeting between him and the commissioners chosen by the Emperor to receive the letter. A small village named Goriama, a mile south of Uruga, was the spot selected as the scene of the interview. In the mean time a temporary edifice of pine wood was constructed for the purpose. White canvas, painted and adorned in various ways, covered the building, and extended a considerable distance on both sides. Nine tall standards of crimson cloth, the national colors of Japan, were placed along the beach in front of the edifice; and five thousand native soldiers were posted in battle-array in the rear at the time of the meeting.

When the 14th arrived, fifteen boats left the American squadron, filled with officers and men. Two Japanese boats, carrying high officials, flanked

the foremost American boat, which conveyed the officer who had command of the day. A temporary wharf had been erected to facilitate the landing. The commodore came last of all, in his state-barge. His passage was greeted by a salute of thirteen guns from his flag-ship. On landing he was conducted up the beach, through two lines of guards, to the house of reception. The Americans who followed him were four hundred in number, and made an imposing appearance. They were all in full uniform and armed; and their vigorous and athletic forms presented quite a favorable contrast to the effeminate Japanese around them. The box which contained the letter of President Fillmore to the Emperor was wrapped in a scarlet cloth envelop; and was carried by two boys who were fancifully dressed for the occasion. The letter itself was somewhat remarkable. It was written on vellum of folio size, and bound in blue silk velvet. The seals were attached to it by cords of silk and gold, to which gold tassels were appended. The seals were encased in circular boxes, six inches in diameter and three in depth, beautifully wrought in solid gold. The box which contained the letter was made of rosewood and adorned with gold.

The house appointed for the meeting was handsomely decorated. The floor was covered with

thick, soft mats of rice-straw, while the walls were adorned with elegant representations of the crane, the sacred bird of Japan. Along the sides, divans of red cloth were placed. An inner apartment was fitted up with silk hangings, and adorned with the imperial arms, consisting of three leaves of clover joined together in a circle. The commodore and his suite having advanced toward the inner apartment, they were conducted to seats which had been prepared for them on the left, the place of honor among the Japanese. On the right were seated the two princes of the empire who had been appointed to receive the letter. They were both venerable men with white beards. As the commodore entered, they rose and bowed. They were richly dressed, and adorned with valuable jewels. Near them stood a large lacquered box, supported on brazen feet, destined to receive the letter of the President. All the Japanese who were present, except the two princes, remained upon their knees during the interview.

The business of the occasion commenced by the imperial commissioners asking whether the letter and the credentials of the envoy were ready for delivery. Commodore Perry answered affirmatively; and then ordered his two pages to bring forward the box containing the precious documents.

They obeyed, and placed it upon the apparatus prepared to receive it. Some general compliments ensued between the commodore and the imperial commissioners; and when the former had signified that he would return after the lapse of a few months to receive the answer of the Japanese Government to the letter of the President, he bowed formally, and returned to the ships with the same ceremony with which he came from them. The demeanor of the Japanese princes and officials during the interview, which was carried on by means of an interpreter, was courteous and dignified in the extreme; and that interview was certainly a memorable occasion in the history of civilization and commerce in modern times. Never before had such a scene occurred. During several centuries the representatives of many of the nations of Europe had in vain solicited such an honor. Every overture had been repelled with inexorable rigor. In this instance, however, the emissary of the United States, upon the first application for an audience, had been received with ceremonial and respectful state, and two of the highest princes of the empire had been deputed to confer with him. This favorable result was wholly due to the sagacious and determined policy pursued by the commodore from his first entrance upon the Japanese waters. On the 17th



of July, 1853, the day which followed this memorable interview, the American squadron set sail for Napha, the capital of the romantic and fertile Lew-Chew Islands; where they arrived, after an exceedingly tempestuous and perilous passage, on the 25th of the same month.

## CHAPTER III.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH THE JAPANESE EMPIRE.

COMMODORE PERRY immediately resumed his negotiations with the authorities of the kingdom of Lew-Chew. Several tedious conferences ensued. At length it was agreed between them that a building for the storage of coal should be appropriated to the Americans, for which they were to pay a reasonable rent. The liberty was also accorded them of making whatever purchases they might desire in any portion of the kingdom. To facilitate the accomplishment of this purpose, a bazaar was opened in which were collected a large quantity of those goods of which traders and foreigners would be in greatest need.

On the 1st of August, Commodore Perry, having accomplished all which he then proposed at Lew-Chew, sailed for Hong-Kong. He found it necessary to give his ships a thorough refitment, which could be done most easily and successfully at this Chinese port and at Macao. He arrived at Hong-

Kong on the 7th of August. He embraced this opportunity to occupy the surveyors and artists of the expedition in the completion of their hydrographical reports, maps, and drawings. Six months were employed in the accomplishment of these various and important purposes; at the end of which period Commodore Perry again sailed on his fourth visit to the kingdom of Lew-Chew. It was his purpose on this occasion to make a more thorough examination of the interior of the chief island of the group, and ascertain its geological formation, the nature of the soil, and its mineralogical and agricultural resources. Various officers from the crews of the several ships were selected for this purpose, whose scientific attainments best fitted them to accomplish it.

The first peculiarity which attracted the attention of these explorers was the vast amount of coral-rock which everywhere abounded, even to the summits of mountains which ascended to the height of five hundred feet. The soil of the surface of the island they found to be composed of the *detritus* or *debris* of coral, and decomposed vegetable and animal matter. In the valleys the soil is exceedingly fertile. The absence of marshy land, and the pure and balmy breezes of the ocean, render the island exceedingly healthy. It is traversed by streams of

pure water, which take their origin from the springs which gush forth from the recesses of the mountains and find their tortuous way to the level plains below. The population of the chief island the explorers estimated at about two hundred thousand. The inhabitants seem to be descended from a mixture of the Chinese and Japanese, possessing features and qualities which belong to both. Their language resembles, and indeed seems to be but a dialect of, the Japanese. The Lew-Chewans are an exceedingly courteous people, and are among the most intelligent of Oriental nations. Their religion is that of the Hindoo, the generally prevalent Buddhism of the East. The bonzas, or priests, constitute the *literati* of the nation, and are treated with considerable respect by the populace.

At length Commodore Perry, having completed all his arrangements with the authorities, and all his scientific researches in the island,—the most important result of which was to ascertain that an immense quantity of coal existed unknown and unemployed in the island, which might be appropriated to the use of American squadrons in future time,—he resolved to return to Japan for the purpose of completing his negotiations for a treaty with the imperial government. Accordingly, on the 7th of February, Commodore Perry set sail, and



after a voyage of five days arrived off the Bay of Jeddo. The next morning the three steamers, the Powhatan, Mississippi, and Susquehanna, having in tow the ships Lexington, Vandalia, and Macedonian, proceeded up the magnificent bay and approached their former anchorage above the city of Uruga. The vessels presented a formidable appearance, and produced a powerful impression on the Japanese; who beheld with mingled feelings of wonder and apprehension this strange and bold squadron approaching within an hour's sail of their very capital.

In a short time Japanese officers of high rank were conveyed by state-barges on board the American ships. Their object was, if possible, to induce the commodore to withdraw his squadron at least as far in the rear as the city of Uruga. In this effort they failed; for Commodore Perry adhered to his original purpose of acting with great independence, and again threatened that, if the imperial commissioners would not treat with him at Uruga, he should immediately push his squadron up to the gates of Jeddo. This decisive threat appeared for a time to suspend all further intercourse. After waiting in vain for some days for further communication from the Japanese, Commodore Perry began to put his threat into execution, and sailed so far up

the bay that he could distinctly hear the solemn striking of the night-watches on the towers of the capital, from the deck of his flag-ship. This decisive movement accomplished its intended effect. Very soon the Japanese officials visited the commodore, and appointed the village of Yokuhama, a place much higher up the bay than Uraga, as the spot chosen for the deliberations. This village is one of an almost uninterrupted series which stretch on both sides of the bay from the sea to the capital; and it is in fact situated only nine miles from Jeddo.

Here a large temporary building had been erected; and the final conferences commenced on the 8th of March, 1854. The commodore drew up his squadron, consisting of three steamers and six sailing-vessels, so as completely to command the position. A vast multitude of Japanese and a large array of native soldiers were assembled to witness the proceedings. Five princes of the highest rank had been appointed to represent the imperial government on this important occasion. Commodore Perry proceeded from his squadron attended by a suitable retinue. He and his suite were conducted to the building appointed for the purpose. As soon as these were seated, the Japanese commissioners entered. They were venerable persons, with long beards, courteous manners, and arrayed in

costly and magnificent attire. Their flowing robes gave them an advantage in appearance over the trim and constrained costume of the strangers. As soon as they entered, the numerous Japanese officials who were in the hall fell upon their knees, and remained in that position as long as the deliberations lasted.

The chief member of the commission was Prince Hayashi-dai-gaku-no-kami. He was a person of about fifty-five years of age, grave in manners, handsome in person, and exceedingly courteous. An interpreter was present on his knees, who was to act on the occasion. After the commissioners were seated, the Prince addressed a few words to the interpreter. He listened a moment with downcast eyes, and then, by a skilful movement of his knees, moved toward the commodore's interpreter, and having communicated his message, returned to the feet of the Prince. This message proved to be the ordinary compliments appropriate to the occasion. An exchange of polite messages took place for some time afterward, when refreshments were brought in and handed to the company. The commissioners then proposed that they should retire into a smaller room, with which request the commodore unhesitatingly complied. When this change had been completed, the chief commissioner opened the delibera-

tions by stating that it was the Japanese custom on such occasions to speak slowly. He then handed the commodore a long roll of paper. It proved to be the answer of the imperial government to the letter of the President. This letter stated that, at the former visit of his excellency the commander of the American squadron, the late Emperor of Japan was sick, and was then dead; that subsequently his majesty the present emperor ascended the throne; that many important interests of the empire had since his accession occupied his attention; that the new emperor, at his accession, promised to the princes and high officers of the empire to observe the existing laws; and that the usages of their ancestors absolutely forbade any sudden changes to be made in the administration of the laws or the government of the empire; that, nevertheless, the spirit of the age required that some concessions should be made to it; and that consequently his imperial majesty had determined to accede to some of the requests contained in the letter of his majesty the President of the United States, and to ordain that a harbor should be appropriated for American ships, in order that they might there be supplied with coal, wood, water, provisions, and other necessaries; and that all the various productions of the empire which might



be desired should be sold at reasonable prices to the American vessels which frequented that port. The letter added, that after the commissioners of both governments had settled all the details of the negotiations, the treaty could be concluded and ratified in due form at a subsequent interview. After some further conversation the meeting broke up; but protracted conferences took place from time to time, which were not concluded until the 1st of April, 1854.

The results of the labors of Commodore Perry were comprised in the various conditions of the treaty which was finally adopted. Those conditions cover the whole ground which was contemplated by the American Government in sending forth the expedition. Many of the points treated of were the subjects of prolonged and animated discussion between the representatives of the two nations; but the superior sagacity, pertinacity, and ability of Commodore Perry in every instance eventually gained him the victory. The importance of that victory increases with the progress of time. It is prospective and future, as well as immediate and present; for it will operate with beneficial and enlarging effect as the commerce of the United States grows in magnitude from year to year among the many seas, islands, and countries of the Asiatic

continent. The chief points of this remarkable treaty are as follows:

“The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, special ambassador of the United States to Japan; and the august sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his commissioners, Hayashi-dai-gakuno-kami, Ido, Prince of Tsus-Sima, Izawa, Prince of Mimasaki, and Udonon, member of the Board of Revenue.

“And the said commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:

“I. There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity, between the United States of America on the one part and the Empire of Japan on the other, and between their people, respectively, without exception of persons or places.

“II The port of Simoda, in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodadi, in the principality of Matsmai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first-named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last-named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

“NOTE.—A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

“III. Whatever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them and carry their crews to Simoda or Hakodadi, and hand them over to their countrymen appointed to receive them. Whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored, and the expenses incurred in the rescue and support of American and Japanese, who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation, are not to be refunded.

“IV. Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other

countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

“V. Shipwrecked men and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodadi, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki; but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles (or *ri*) from a small island in the harbor of Simoda, marked on the accompanying chart, hereto appended; and shall in like manner be free to go where they please at Hakodadi, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

“VI. If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

“VII. It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin, and articles of goods, for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.



“VIII. Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

“IX. It is agreed, that if, at any future day, the Government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that the same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof without any consultation or delay.

“X. Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodadi, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

“XI. There shall be appointed by the Government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Simoda at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this treaty; provided that either of the two Governments deem such arrangement necessary.

“XII. The present convention, having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the President of the United States, by

and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the august Sovereign of Japan, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if practicable.

“In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the Empire of Japan aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

“Done at Kanagawa, this thirty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, and of Keyei the seventh year, third month, and third day.”

The following additional stipulations were subsequently agreed upon between the commissioners of the Japanese and American Governments:

“I. The imperial governors of Simoda will place watch-stations wherever they deem best, to designate the limits of their jurisdiction; but Americans are at liberty to go through them, unrestricted, within the limits of seven Japanese ri, or miles; and those who are found transgressing Japanese laws may be apprehended by the police and taken on board their ships.

“II. Three landing-places shall be constructed for the boats of merchant-ships and whale-ships resorting to this port: one at Simoda, one at Kakizaki,

and the third at the brook lying southeast of Centre Island. The citizens of the United States will, of course, treat the Japanese officers with proper respect.

“III. Americans, when on shore, are not allowed access to military establishments or private houses without leave; but they can enter shops and visit temples as they please.

“IV. Two temples, the Rioshen at Simoda, and the Yokushen at Kakizaki, are assigned as resting-places for persons in their walks, until public houses and inns are erected for their convenience.

“V. Near the temple Yokushen, at Kakizaki, a burial-ground has been set apart for Americans, where their graves and tombs shall not be molested.

“VI. It is stipulated in the treaty of Kanagawa, that coal will be furnished at Hakodadi; but, as it is very difficult for the Japanese to supply it at that port, Commodore Perry promises to mention this to his Government, in order that the Japanese Government may be relieved from the obligation of making that port a coal-depôt.

“VII. It is agreed that henceforth the Chinese language shall not be employed in official communications between the two Governments, except when there is no Dutch interpreter.

“VIII. A harbor-master and three skilful pilots have been appointed for the port of Simoda.

“IX. Whenever goods are selected in the shops, they shall be marked with the name of the purchaser and the price agreed upon, and then be sent to the goyoshi, or Government-office, where the money is to be paid to Japanese officers, and the articles delivered by them.

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“X. The shooting of birds and animals is generally forbidden in Japan; and this law is therefore to be observed by all Americans.”



## CHAPTER IV.

### CONCLUDING LABORS OF COMMODORE PERRY IN JAPAN AND LEW-CHEW.

THE labors of the Commissioners being thus concluded in the establishment of a treaty between the Japanese and American Governments, they resolved to cement the union and increase their kindly feeling by mutual hospitalities and banquets. The proper time had also arrived for the delivery of the presents which the President of the United States had sent for the acceptance of his august ally. These consisted of various and valuable specimens of the manufactures and inventions of the United States, including an electric telegraph, a miniature steam-engine and railroad, philosophical instruments, Colt's revolvers, books, liquors, and perfumery. The commodore now ordered these articles to be removed from the flag-ship to the shore, to be properly arranged and exhibited to the commissioners, and their method of operation pointed out. The astonishment of the Japanese was extreme when these splendid and beautiful objects

were displayed to them; and they were deeply impressed with the superior intelligence and civilization of the inhabitants of the distant clime who had thus become, for the first time, directly acquainted with them. They returned the compliment in a few days with presents of their own manufactures, which included rich silks and brocades, chow-chow boxes; tables, toys, and goblets, constructed of the famous lacquered ware of Japan, porcelain cups, pipe-cases, umbrellas, and various specimens of the Japanese wardrobe. These presents were first arranged in the Treaty House, and then an invitation was sent to Commodore Perry to inspect and accept them. Two hundred sacks of rice were also included among the gifts; and when the commodore inquired why so ponderous a bulk had been selected, he received as an answer that it was the custom of the Japanese never to bestow a present without including also a quantity of rice.

Thus, the stipulations of the written treaty having been confirmed by the exhibition of friendly feeling and generous courtesies on both sides, the commodore took his leave of the immediate vicinity of the capital; and on the 8th of April, 1854, proceeded with his squadron to Simoda and Hakodadi, the two ports which had been selected for the use of the

Americans. Commodore Perry desired to visit these places and examine their facilities, and their adaptation to the purposes for which they had been designated. A few minor details respecting the treaty which had already been completed yet remained to be settled; and Hakodadi was the place appointed for that purpose.

Simoda contains about seven thousand inhabitants, and is situated on the southern extremity of the island of Nippon, the largest of the Japanese group. It is compactly built, and laid out in streets which run in right angles. These streets are about twenty feet in width and are regularly paved. The utmost attention is paid to cleanliness; and a superior degree of healthfulness is the result. The town contains nine Buddhist temples and other smaller shrines. It is the capital of the province of Idzu, and its governor is appointed directly by the supreme power at Jeddo.

The officers of the American squadron visited the shore daily. They carefully examined the harbor, and suggested such improvements to the authorities as would be necessary to render it fit for the reception of American ships. After their scrutiny was completed, the commodore proceeded to Hakodadi. This place is situated on a spacious and beautiful bay, and the harbor is one of the finest in the world.

The town is one of considerable commercial importance, and a large trade is carried on with it by fleets of junks. The inhabitants number about twenty thousand. Like Simoda, it is neatly and regularly built, and is cleanly and prosperous.

Here the commodore met the Japanese commissioners who were to complete the settlement of the remaining details of the treaty. The chief discussion between them referred to the extent of country around Hakodadi through which the Americans should be permitted to travel. Some of the commissioners insisted that they should be restricted to the limits of the town; but this point was abandoned. Another subject of argument was the adjustment of the currency to be used between the two nations. A succession of daily conferences took place from the 8th till the 17th of June, and all the disputed points were arranged during that interval. The last official act which took place between the commissioners was the presentation by the Japanese of a block of stone for the national monument at Washington; which was to be conveyed across the deep as a tribute from the Empire of Japan to the memory and glory of the immortal founder of the Republic.

Commodore Perry having thus successfully terminated all the duties of his mission to the im-



perial Government, the whole American squadron weighed anchor to return home on the 28th of June, 1854. He directed his course to the Lew-Chew Islands, with the authorities of which he proposed to conclude the negotiations which had already been begun and considerably advanced. His ships entered the port of Napha on the 1st of July. After protracted deliberations, a treaty was agreed upon in all its details. It guaranteed the right to Americans to visit the islands, and to purchase whatever they might desire; it provided that American ships visiting the harbor should be furnished with fuel and provisions; that if ships were wrecked on the coast, the Lew-Chewans should afford their crews all the assistance in their power, and preserve their property which might be saved from all attempts at plunder; that if American seamen disobeyed the laws of the kingdom, or committed any outrage, they should be arrested by the local authorities and taken to the American commander for punishment; it stipulated that a burial-ground should be appropriated to the Americans for their use, and their graves be respected; and that the Government of Napha should appoint skillful pilots, who should be on the look-out for ships which might approach the island, and should go out in

boats beyond the reef to conduct them to good anchorage, for which service they should be properly compensated. This treaty was duly ratified on the 11th of July, 1854, by Commodore Perry and the Regent of the Kingdom of the Lew-Chew Islands; and its accomplishment adds much to the facilities of trade and the profits of commerce to those American vessels which visit the remoter climes of the East.

On the 17th of July Commodore Perry resumed his return voyage. He arrived in New York on the 12th of January, 1855; having employed two years and two months in the achievement of one of the most difficult, important, and beneficial alliances which adorns the history and promotes the welfare of our country. Few negotiations have ever been conducted and completed which were attended with such immense obstacles; in which success was so problematical; which called for the exercise of greater prudence, perseverance, and sagacity; in which failure would have been more ignominious, and in which success would be more honorable and more remunerative. And as one of the Japanese commissioners publicly asserted, that the "name of Commodore Perry would live forever in the history of Japan;" so also may it be declared, with equal

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